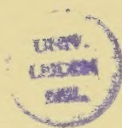


Anointing as an Ordination Problem

Nils-Henrik Lindbladh



Lund 1984



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PREFACE

In the year 1575 the Swedish King John III reintroduced the practice of anointing at the ordination of bishops, and later also at ordination of priests. What was of such significance about this anointing that the Swedish king, who negotiated with Rome about the opening of full communion between the Church in Sweden and the Church of Rome, took the view that it should be reintroduced? And what has made the Catholic Church reject the priesthood and ordination of other Churches some times although the imposition of hands has continually been practised at ordination in these Churches?

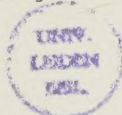
With these questions in mind, some years ago I began this investigation into the problems relating to the practice of ordination anointing. Now, with the work completed, many unexpected conclusions have to be drawn and connections earlier unknown to me become apparent. The issue also had to be more specified in order to indicate more clearly the difficulties in the conceptions of ministry and liturgy which came into light when this anointing was used.

In the course of the work, I myself have learned a great deal, both from the sources and the literature which I have studied, and also where criticism of sources and method are concerned.

It is obvious that a work of these proportions cannot be carried through without the support, help and encouragement of many.

First of all I want to thank my tutor, Professor Lars Eckerdal and the higher seminar for scholars in Practical Theology in Lund, particularly Jan Arvid Hellström (now professor in Uppsala), who has read my essays and given me new angles of approach and wider perspectives for several years. My family must also be thanked for having put up with neglect from me and despite this, giving me their support; without this, the investigation would not have been carried out.

Scholars of different countries have kindly shared their knowledge in this subject with me and warm thanks must be go to Dr Alf Hårgelin, Uppsala for his advice in the difficult question of method; to the late Bishop of Linköping, Ragnar Askmark (R.I.P.) for support and encouragement mainly regarding



the ordinations of the time of reformation; to the Bishop of Copenhagen Hans L.Martensen for elucidation of the resolutions of the Council of Trent; to Rev.Dr Paul F.Bradshaw, Oxford for help with information about English Church Union and The Prayer Book Revision Committee; to Dr B.Barker-Bentfield, The Bodleian Library, Oxford for his kindness in showing me MS.Rawl.C 400; to Drs Per Beskow and Sven Helander for helping me to delve deeper into the development of the ritual of coronation; to Professor Dr Bruno Kleinhyer, Regensburg for his kind obliging and guidance through the articles written about the growth of the new ordination rituals in the 1968 Roman Pontifical; to Dr Olof Odenius for the presentation of fragments of Swedish pontificals; to the Institut für Spätmittelaler und Reformation, Tübingen, for a complete survey of the words linked to ordination anointing in Luther's works, and to Professor Gotthard Nygren, Lund, for valuable discussions about the questions and method of my work. I want to turn with gratitude and reverence to all these scholars who have helped me with my research.

I direct special thanks to my closest collaborators, the Rev.Jan Svensson, Dannäs for the arranging of Latin text, scrutiny and encouragement; to my mother who has aided me with some transcriptions, and to Anna Greek and Geoffrey Bengt Elias who have helped with the translation. -As an aid to translating Luther's texts into English, Luther's works, american edition, Concordia Publishing House have been used.

My hopes for this investigation is that it will be a contribution to the understanding of the varying interpretations and views on ordination which have existed through different times and epochs.

The book is dedicated to my Lord, the Lord of the Church, Christ the Anointed One.

Lund, August 1984

Nils-Henrik Lindblad

1. INTRODUCTION

Ordination anointing is an anointing with oil or chrism, or a mixture of both, performed at the ordinations of priests and bishops by the bishop on the hands and head of the ordinand. In the course of time, a varying degree of importance for the perfected ordination has been attached to this anointing, and it has therefore been given different shapes through its history. There is a connection here, a link between the liturgical form of this anointing and the significance which it has been considered to have. From the time when the Roman pontifical was issued in print in 1485 to the publishing of the new Roman ordination rituals in 1968, there has been no change worth mentioning in the form of this anointing. Its existence has, however, been discussed and questioned, and similarly the issue of the right form and matter of the ordination has been dealt with.

Earlier, one monograph only has treated this anointing. Gerard Ellard wrote about Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D., in a dissertation presented in Munich in 1930. It was published in 1933 and then reprinted in 1970 in New York.

Even in the title of this dissertation, a restriction is suggested to the reader. The anointing has its place in the Western part of the Church, and Ellard's investigation, like this one, excludes the Churches of the East and the Orthodox Churches since this anointing has never been used in their liturgical tradition. A consequence of this is that liturgical material from the Eastern part of the Church is lacking when ordination anointing is investigated.

In his work, Ellard went through more than 200 manuscripts attempting to map out the origin, background and growth of the anointing. Ellard did not in any detail touch on the consequences which the introduction of this anointing came to have for the liturgical form of the ordination - the balance between its different liturgical components - and for the ordination theology. In this dissertation, the problems and discussions which have surrounded the use of ordination anointing will receive more attention and will be put in the focus of interest.

1.1. The formulation of the issue.

In this section 1.1. it will be briefly shown what the issue of this investigation is, and which mode of procedure has been chosen in order to reach a research result to the issue. Messenger pointed out in 1936 in his great work about the reformation, the mass and the priesthood that an investigation of the ordination anointing is fully justified. He wrote that this question has not received the attention which it deserves. <1>

- F. Hallier observed as early as 1636 in his investigation of the ordination in the early and the contemporary Church, that several problems were linked with the use of anointing in the ritual of ordination <2>. Particularly when this anointing is given the reputation of being part of the matter of ordination, interesting problems and discussions appear. Thus, it cannot be said that this anointing is an uncontroversial or insignificant liturgical detail. On the contrary, it may reflect many important questions concerned with ordination. It has often been involved in the debate when different views on the office and the ordination have opposed each other. The main task of this investigation will be to elucidate this anointing as an ordination problem <3> and the problems and contrasts in the views on the office and conceptions of ordination which have appeared where this anointing has been involved.

The mode of answering the question at issue in this dissertation must in this case be selected with care since the time investigated stretches over a long period and the material which will be used here is, as will be shown in section 1.2., of varying character and has been treated before in different degrees. First, some comparisons with investigations which have faced the same difficulty will be made.

In his monograph on the history of the Roman ritual for the ordination of priests, Bruno Kleinheyer chose to follow the development of the ritual from New Testament times up to the different printed editions of the Pontificale Romanum, with some completing pages about the development during the 20th century. Kleinheyer's way of working was to study the liturgical changes mainly in the text of the rituals, but also in the rubrics. He compared different manuscripts and editions and noted in chronological order the changes which had taken place and had carried the development forward. On some occasions he illustrated them with brief quotations from contemporary theological literature in order to show what lay behind the liturgical changes. <4>

Mauritius Steinheimer took another line of action when he investigated the doxology and the doxa-concept in the liturgy. He attempted to trace which words and meanings lay behind the translation into Latin (from Hebrew and Greek). By way of linguistical examination he could seek the answer to what the meaning and background of the doxology was. To aid him he first took texts from the Old and the New Testaments and from the Fathers of the Church, and then he went through the doxology

and the doxa-concept in different liturgical texts from separate periods and examined their religious meaning. <5>

Still another author has worked on a liturgical detail and its position and development in the course of several centuries. This is Alf Härdelin, in the book "Aquae et vini mysterium". There, he investigated the practice of mixing water with the sacramental wine, beginning in the Early Church ending briefly in the reformation and counter-reformation. In Härdelin's investigation, the stress was laid on the period 600 - 1400. Härdelin claimed that the intention of the work was two-fold - to place the examined texts in their context in theological history, and to show what these texts could say about the function of the rite. He permitted many different theologians to elucidate that liturgical detail which was the object of his investigation, while the liturgical material itself was sparingly used. In this way, a clear picture of the theology surrounding the liturgy was given. <6>

The monograph by Gerald Ellard about the development of the ordination anointing up to the year 1000 does not really resemble any of the works or modes of procedure mentioned here. With his careful comparisons of different manuscripts and the small changes in the prayer and the formula at the anointing, Ellard has certain similarities with Kleinheyer, who is chronologically the later scholar. This is the classical arrangement for a liturgical study. At the same time, Ellard is like Härdelin in his endeavour to elucidate the liturgical changes with theological texts. He goes still further than Härdelin and examines how that which takes place with the anointing relates to the development of ecclesiastical history and history in general, not only the development of dogma but also of philosophy. The tension between the royal power and the Church was illustrated in the shaping of the rituals of coronation and ordination on this point among others. <7>

In order to elucidate the question of anointing as an ordination problem it cannot be considered to be sufficient only to investigate the changes which have taken place in the liturgical order. A linguistical study like Steinheimer's would lead still further away from the solution to the problem as it is formulated here. Obviously the liturgical development must be described, but this must be done in the light of the theological development. It is not even sufficient to let the theology illustrate what took place in the liturgy; it is necessary to use contributions from ecclesiastical history to elucidate the problems.

In an article in 1972 on the use of anointing at the ordination of bishops, Bruno Kleinheyer wrote that then he had no opportunity to make anything more than a liturgical study.

Judging from his wording, however, he was conscious of the need for pointing to the theological background to the strong increase in esteem for the rite of anointing and what the influence of this had had on the other essential parts of the ordination liturgy <8>.

From different periods the lines of development lead up to the liturgical reform of the Second Vatican Council, where the anointing had to retreat in favour of the imposition of hands as the most important act of ordination. In the background lies the great reverence of the Middle Ages for the anointing, when the anointed hands of the priest were often kissed by the people. In the same period the regents were anointed at their coronations and through this considered themselves to have power and office. - When the reformers began to have their own ordinations, these took place without anointing. - The French ordination scholars of the 17th century had too, because of their research results, reevaluate the position of the anointing in the ordination. This liturgical detail belongs with and has to be placed in a larger context if it to be possible to understand the changes which took place. It is not a historical development which is to catch the interest in this investigation in the first place, but the problems which the use of this anointing has caused liturgically and theologically, and how attempts at solving them have been made.

The general hypothesis will be that the liturgical changes on this point will be linked with the situations of conflict in which they have been involved. It can be assumed that these conflicts reflect fundamental differences of opinion on the office and the ordination.

With this working hypothesis and the consequent necessary limitations an opportunity is given to make the understanding of the used material more profound. The limitations are mainly of two kinds. Firstly, the material concerning ordination anointing is limited so that not all material which shows the historical development of this anointing is used, but only that which is of interest for the issue. Secondly, material which does not directly concern ordination anointing is included in the investigation, and this is limited so that only that which is required to illustrate the problems which appear with the use of this anointing is included.

With the above mentioned format, the conflicting situations of the reformation and counter-reformation (ch.3) are of most interest, where fundamental differences in the views on the office and the ordination are connected with the use of this anointing or the rejection of it. The Middle Ages can also show considerable problems concerning the view on ordination with the anointing involved. This mainly concerns the problems with the growth towards a conformed Western liturgy, where different regional traditions attempted to have a dominating influence. (Ch.2)

The reformation and counter-reformation were followed by a research which was critical of sources, which was of importance to the ordination and where the position of the anointing had to be revaluated (ch. 4.1.). The 19th century debate about the Anglican holy orders was to a great extent a debate about events which had taken place during the 16th century and about the source-material from that period (ch. 4.2.). The Second Vatican Council meant a return to the sources of the Early Church and involved reforms of the theology of holy orders and

the liturgy with consequences for the ordination anointing. The debate about the office and the ordination from the Council of Trent was continued by this council (ch. 4.3.).

1.2. Sources and Literature.

The principle of selection which will be used here, and which is dependent on the issue of the investigation as has been shown earlier, will give this study a direction towards changes, conflicts, discoveries and other things which illustrate the problems connected with the use of this anointing. The principle of selection cannot influence the extent and existence of the working material of the investigation, and thus one of the difficulties of the carrying out of this study will be the great differences in this material from different periods. This concerns differences in availability and, most of all, that sources from certain periods have been more examined than others and have been subjected to thorough debate within the theological discipline.

In order to find the problems of ordination anointing during the Middle Ages, a large number of MSS have been gone through in the original state or in editions. This applies to both the liturgical shaping and the theological reflection. From the examined material that which will be presented in chapter two has been selected, and the selection has been made so that the question of the provenience of this anointing and its original relation to the Roman liturgy will be dealt with first. Then the problems which the further development of the liturgical form of the anointing had in relation to the other essential parts of the ordination liturgy will be treated. Finally, in the liturgical part of the chapter, it will be shown how the Roman liturgy changed up to the year 1485 and what lay behind these changes. Of the material which has been gone through, some MSS from the British Library in London and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and editions of several English pontificals have been used. The editions and descriptions of pontificals by Leroquais, Andrieu and Vogel-Elze have been of invaluable assistance, as has the already mentioned monograph by Ellard where he has also published in print several of the most important rubrics and texts for the use of this anointing. Kleinheyser's investigations from 1962 and 1972 of the ritual for the ordination of priests and of the use of anointing at the consecration of bishops have, together with Richter's account of the Roman order for the ordination of bishops, been of use for the assessment of the relationship between the ordination anointing and the other elements in the liturgy of ordination.

The theological understanding of the liturgical act is partly presented by Ellard, but above all the fathers at the Council of Trent, with their repeated references to various Fathers of the Church and medieval authorities, have contributed to a survey of usable theological material as have the 17th century scholars, mainly Hallier and Morin, who carefully relate the views of theologians of different times.

From this material, mainly that which illustrates the problems in connection with the introduction of this anointing has been selected, as well as that which concerns the question of the form and matter of the ordination and the role which the anointing played there. When the liturgical and theological background of the ordination anointing will be illustrated in this way, Mitchell's investigation of Baptismal anointings will contribute with valuable material for comparison, as will Eichmann's study of the coronation ritual.

The material on which Chapter 2 is based is to a large extent source material which not too great a number of scholars have treated and commented. The editions and manuscripts which are used here often bear the mark of highly specialized investigations of single manuscripts which in their entirety are compared with others. This has given the opportunity in this investigation to link and bring forward connections and relationships which have not been shown earlier.

The case with the main part of the material lying behind Chapters 3.1. and 4.2. is entirely different. The ordinations and ordination debate of the period of the reformation as well as the English 19th century debate have been treated in an immense number of more or less scientific works, and here it is required of the reader of this investigation to bear the issue and basis of the study in mind particularly when these sections are read. This is important in order to discover in what way the ordination anointing and the question of the nature of ordination is found in the frequently very strong debate.

Many scholars have devoted time and energy to a thorough study of Luther and the German reformation. In many cases this is a matter of research results which are the work of a lifetime, and the reading of such investigations at the same time in many ways gives a picture of the author himself behind that which he attempts to investigate. For those who wish to study Lutheran theology and in this case the doctrines of ministry and ordination, the difficulty of making a selection out of the vast material immediately presents itself. It is, as P. Bradshaw said, few who have gone first through the jungle to clear the path (9). Some research surveys can be of help here. In "Bekenntnis, Kirche und Amt", 1952, H. Fagerberg gave a comparatively lucid picture of the German research in the 19th century and in Chapter II:1 and Chapter V questions concerning the ministry were dealt with.

Quite naturally, the later scholars who treat issues associated with the ministry and the ordination also include form of an outline of earlier research. Particularly "Die Ordination zum Amt der Kirche", 1956, can be mentioned here, where J. Heubach in his introductory chapter went through ordination research in the 19th and 20th centuries in detail. W. Brunotte began "Das geistliche Amt bei Luther 1959, with a research survey (9-31). These two thorough accounts have had the result that two later scholars have limited their surveys to being found in the notes or briefly in the text. H. Lieberg "Amt und Ordination bei Luther und Melancthon" is very detailed in its description of the ordination but only gives a very

brief description of research, 204-206. W. Stein "Das kirchliche Amt bei Luther" 1974 does not describe the special results of the different scholars, but more the problems which the research has brought forward in the section "Luther Amtsauffassung in der Forschung", 205-213. Other research surveys which must be mentioned here are G. Müller's article "Das neulutherische Amtsverständnis in reformatorischer Sicht" 1971 and H. Schütte's easily understood account of Lutheran ordination theology (§ 6) in "Amt, Ordination und Sukzession" 1974.

Mention should be made of the research which has been done in Sweden: O. Holmström "Om ordinationen inom lutherska kyrkan" 1889; R. Askmark "Ämbetet i den svenska kyrkan" 1949; G. Hök's article "Luthers lära om kyrkans ämbete" 1951 and V. Vajta "Die Theologie des Gottesdienstes bei Luther" 1952.

Two different schools of thought in research, which in two completely different ways attempt to explain Luther's view on ordination. Some scholars have tried to bring the two traditions closer to each other by indicating different stages of development in Luther's theology <10>, but on the whole both ways of interpretations still remain.

In 1849 W. Löhe considered the meaning of ordination in "Aphorismen über neutestamentlichen Ämter und ihr Verhältnis zur Gemeinde", and reached the conclusion that in Luther's view on ordination, gifts and grace necessary to the ministry, are conferred. This tradition, that a spiritual gift is required for the execution of the office is according to Luther conveyed through the ordination, has later been supported by, among others, Holmström, Heubach, Lieberg and Stein. The other line of research claims that the ordination, for Luther, is mainly to be regarded as an instalment, the formal confirmation by the congregation of the vocation, without the conferring of any particular spiritual gift necessary for the office. This interpretation has been developed by G. Rietschel in his often used "Luther und die Ordination" 2. Aufl. 1889 and "Lehrbuch der Liturgik II" 1909. Hök, Vajta and Brunotte are among those in this tradition of research.

The differences can be illustrated by the following, which Holmström wrote, namely that the sacramental gifts, through the imposition of hands, are given to him who is sanctified and equipped for the ministry of the office, and they alone, or at least primarily are able to sanctify the ordinand and make him capable of performing his office and attending to his duties <11>.

The second line of interpretation is given by Brunotte who wrote that when the imposition of hands is brought forward today in the liturgical shape of the ordination, it appears in the interpretation of Luther's attitude towards the shape of the ordination, that the obligations could instead be given to the ordinand by way of a handshake <12>.

The disposition of the work with the section on Luther and

the ordination anointing must be described in more detail. When the accounts of the different scholars had been treated, all the pleas in the works of Luther where this anointing is in any way mentioned were gone through. This was possible with assistance from the institute in Tübingen where all Luther's work are arranged so that a complete list of the occurrence of individual words can be made. With the aid of this list, it was possible to find when and in which contexts Luther spoke and wrote about anointing. In order to have an idea if Luther changed his view on ordination anointing, and how consistent his view was, one horizontal and one vertical line was drawn through the period so that a more profound study could be made of the time 1519-23. It has also been questioned whether any changes in his opinion took place up to the year 1545. What is to be presented in Chapter 3.1. are the contexts in which Luther found this anointing - contexts which are to a high degree connected with the problems caused by the use of this anointing. This way of making a systematic reflection has recently arisen in the ordination research through an article by Peter E. Fink who raised the question about such connections in the periodical *Worship* (priest - congregation, power - service, priest - layman) <13>. In the same way connections will be sought here with the described material on and by Luther between the ordination anointing and the problem-complexes sacerdos-minister, priest-layman and baptism-ordination.

The other 16th century reformers and the reformation in England and Sweden have not been investigated to the same extent but some scholars have devoted much energy to these topics as well. This has partly made the original material difficult to handle, as there is always, as with the Luther-material, the risk of entering into a discussion which has been initiated by earlier scholars. Lieberg's account of Luther's and Melanchton's views on ordination has been the directing work where Melanchton's view has been concerned, and for Bugenhagen, Chemnitz and Bucer their own works have been used without an all too thorough inquiry into research having been made. The aim has mainly been to compare their views on ordination anointing with Luther's and to investigate whether the reformers of the 16th century had a uniform view in this question and what the background may have been to the possible differences.

The course of events of the reformation and counter-reformation in England and Sweden have been specially examined for a particular reason. This is motivated by the fact that the Catholic Church did not accept the reformatory ordinals when these countries wished for a reunion with Rome. In England and Sweden the use of ordination anointing was reinstituted after it had been abolished. In Chapters 3.1. and 3.2., the problems linked with the abolition and reinstitution of this anointing in these countries will be elucidated more closely. The English development has been investigated through the examination of works and documents from that time in the original and in edition. Messenger's detailed account, Burnet's older report about the reformation in England, Procter-Frere's work on the background of the Book of Common

Prayer and Bradshaw's wellbalanced investigation of the Anglican ordinal have been of assistance in obtaining a survey of the events. Material from the English 19th century debate has also been used in order to understand the development of the 16th century, but sparingly since this material is strongly polemically coloured.

For the Swedish, source material in the original and in editions have been used. The scholars who have worked with the material earlier have mainly been Sven Kjöllnerström, Ragnar Askmark, Bengt Stolt, L-M Dewailly and Theodor van Haag. Since none of the scholars who have treated the reformation in Germany, England or Sweden have given any greater attention to ordination anointing, it is a natural consequence that this investigation has a new and different angle of approach when the earlier so thoroughly examined events are brought up again here. The new question at issue brings with it the result that conclusions which have not been drawn earlier may appear in this investigation, and that earlier, and to some scholars controversial, conclusions may be confirmed.

In the research about the Council of Trent, still fewer scholars have observed the problems of the ordination anointing than has been the case with the earlier material. This may partly be caused by the fact that the excellent publication of records and journals from the deliberations in Trent only reached the volume in which the discussion of this anointing is mainly recorded in 1976 - Concilium Tridentinum VII/2. This means that these parts of the deliberations of the council have not been treated and analyzed to any degree worth mentioning. H. Jedin has in a large number of articles as well as in his books dealt with the background and the history of the Council of Trent, but he hardly mentions with a line the some times quite protracted debates on the ordination anointing, which finally became a conciliary resolution - Sess. XXIII canon 5. G. Fahrnerberger has also written about the Council of Trent in some articles and a book, and then entered on its views on the office, particularly on the questions of the degrees of the office and of the sacerdotal priesthood without even mentioning the position of anointing in the ordination. Here, the work of this council will be examined and presented in perhaps more detail than what could seem motivated due to the fact that the deliberations on this anointing at the Council of Trent have not been noted in earlier research.

Thus, in Chapter three, firstly material which has been subjected to very thorough earlier research, and secondly, material which has not been analysed before will be used. This is obviously a difficulty in the treatment of the material, most of all if the two types of material are to be presented and dealt with in a balanced manner. In the first case there is an evident risk of involving a discussion about ordination and office on a different basis than that of this investigation; in the other case it is tempting to present in too vague a manner an untreated material. Here, an attempt will be made to analyze the problems of ordination anointing during that divisive and difficult century.

These two types of material have also been used in the fourth chapter. The investigation of the ordination by the 17th century scholars has mainly been done with the aid of their own works. Ellard's introductory survey of earlier research has been of certain assistance. The debates about ordination, succession and validity during the 18th and particularly the 19th century are circumstantial and extensive where the number of pages is concerned. Here it has been necessary to obtain a survey of the material through later scholars; Bradshaw, Clark and Hughes have, with their comparatively late works, given a well-needed survey not only of the background of Leo XIII's bull "Apostolicae Curae" but also of the multitude of contributions that followed.

The resolution of the Second Vatican Council on a liturgical reform was preceded by a clarification of the form and matter of ordination which will be more closely studied in section 4.3. The ways in modern times of the Catholic Church of treating the problems which have been caused by the ordination anointing will be investigated there. Since this material has emerged in the last decades, it has not been dealt with in any detail yet. Articles by K. Lehmann and R. Ott have shown the major lines of the development up to the new ordinals of 1968 of the Catholic Church, and B. Kleinheyer and B. Botte have in several articles made clear what considerations lay behind the new ordinals.

One problem that runs throughout the consideration of used material is that the questions and angles of approach of other scholars have mostly been entirely different. Therefore the material selected and used here has often been taken out of one context and been put into another, where the reader who has kept the questions of another scholar in mind will have difficulties in seeing its meaning. The ordination anointing is the basis of this new context.

2. THE MIDDLE AGES

From variety towards conformity.

Anointing has not always been used at ordinations of priests and bishops in the history of the Church. The earliest descriptions of Christian ordination and the earliest liturgical sources do not once mention that the use of this anointing should have been in existence in the Early Church. It is known, however, that anointing was used at baptism and that the sick were anointed since the first centuries, and that oil was consecrated by the bishop for these purposes.

In order to clarify the background and growth of ordination anointing, this chapter will deal with the problems in connection with the introduction of this anointing into the liturgical order, and also with the theological problems which arose when this new act was brought in.

The questions linked with the provenience of this anointing are of particular interest, as well as how it became rooted in the Roman liturgy and was developed there until the year 1485, when the first printed edition of Pontificale Romanum (PR) was issued.

Where the theology is concerned, the attention is focused on the consequences of this liturgical innovation for the conception of ordination and ministry, and how this was linked with the interpretation of the earlier use of oil and chrism.

Of significance to this dissertation are mainly the problems which followed as a result of the introduction of this anointing and, especially in this chapter, the development was to lead up to the conflict of the 16th century, in which also the anointing was included in that which separated Christianity into two opposing parties.

The performance and meaning of the anointing are central to the contents of this chapter, but by way introduction the opposite - the removal of the anointing - will be mentioned, for it reveals something about the position of this anointing in the Middle Ages. In a description of how the priest was deprived of priesthood, it is written that where the anointing oil had been applied it should be removed with a small knife or a piece of glass from the thumb and hands of him who was degraded while the bishop said a special formula. Pope Stephen VII is said to have done this with his predecessor, whose body he took from the grave so that the hands anointed to priesthood

should be "deformed". <1>

2.1. The shape of ordination anointing.

2.1.1. Provenience.

In the year 864, Pope Nicholas I (858-67) wrote to the Frankish archbishop Rudolf of Bourges in reply to his question as to whether anointing was to be given also to the deacons at their ordination:

You also ask whether only priests, or deacons as well, should have their hands anointed with chrism at ordination. In this holy Roman Church, which by God's disposition we serve, it is not done for either. And (unless our memory is at fault) we have nowhere read of its having been done by the ministers of the New Law. Therefore, we are sending Your Holiness the canonical decrees of blessed Pope Innocent, and the beginning of his Letter to the Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, will tell You exactly what is to be observed at consecrations and ordinations.<2>

This letter shows that the practice of anointing at ordinations was not known in Rome at this time and that the Pope did not wish it to become standard at ordinations. It is also at the same time implied by this correspondence that these anointings were practised elsewhere without the knowledge or consent of Rome. A large part of the Western Church seems to have begun the practice of ordination anointing before it made its debut in the Roman ordinal some 60 years after the letter of Nicholas I.

By good fortune, a manuscript which describes how and when the change took place in Rome is still in existence: MS Addit 15 222 at the British Museum in London. This MS is to have been written at the end of the 10th century, but it reflects conditions in Rome around the year 925 and its Roman provenience is not questioned <3>. Several changes in the ordination rituals are found in this MS in relation to earlier Roman ordinals. The most striking thing being the directions for the consecration of bishops where it is stated that the ordinand's hand were to be anointed if it had not been done earlier. (Fol.16v: *Hac expleta consecrat ei manus si nondam habuit consecratas ordine quo supra prefiximus.* -Plate 1.) Here, the manuscript describes a step in a development when some priests had had their hands anointed at ordination and others had not. To make sure that the hands of all bishops on some occasion had been anointed this direction was included. The ritual for ordination of priests used the words: *Consecrentur et sanctificentur...*(See Plate 2.) in the instructions for the anointing of hands. It is obvious that

what here was described was a transitional stage when anointing was being introduced into the Roman ordinal. The intention of MS Addit 15 222 was, therefore, to introduce anointing of hands as a novelty into the ritual for ordination of priests. This anointing was not, however, to be repeated when bishops were ordained. Only those who had been ordained priests according to the old ordinal without anointing were to have their hands anointed when they were raised to episcopacy.<4>

The Pope who had the greatest opportunity to bring ordination anointing to Rome was John X (914-28). He came from Ravenna where he had been archbishop for nine or ten years, and in his province this anointing had been in use during the first years of the 10th century.<5>

Thus, it is possible to be certain as to when and how at least the anointing of hands was introduced in Rome and the way it reached the Roman liturgy. Although neither MS Addit 15 222 mentioned anointing of the head, as not Nicholas I did either, it seems undisputed that this anointing was introduced in Rome at a later stage <6>. Through this it is confirmed that ordination anointings did not have their origin in Rome but were accepted into the Roman liturgy late and after some opposition.

The first record of ordination anointing in a liturgical manuscript is in the Misale Francorum (which was brought to Rome from Sweden by Queen Christna in the 17th century and is now to be found in the collections of the Vatican). It was compiled around the years 700-30, probably in Poitiers since S:t Hilary and S:t Martin figure prominently, but its liturgical background is thought to be wisigothic. The Wisigoths had great influence in that area -Aquitania- at the time before the Missal of the Franks was compiled.<7> Anointing is mentioned only at the ordination of priests and only as anointing of the hands. Two different formulas to be used at this anointing were included, partly made up of prayers from the Leonine Sacramentary and some prayers assumed to be Gallican <8>.

Consecration of the hands.

May these hands be consecrated and hallowed by this unction and our blessing, so that whatever they bless may be blessed, and whatever they hallow may be hallowed; through our Lord.

Another.

May these hands be anointed with hallowed oil and the chrism of holiness. As Samuel anointed David to be king and prophet, so be they anointed, and perfected, in the name of God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, making the image of the holy Cross of the Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord who redeemed us from death and leadeth us to the kingdom of Heaven.

Hear us, O Gracious Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, and grant what we ask and pray

of thee.<9>

The use of anointing in the Missal of the Franks gives reason to assume that anointing at the ordination of priests is older than that at the ordination of bishops <11>. The contents of the alternative formula in the Missal with its interest in how Samuel anointed David to be king and prophet does, however, seem too grand for it to have been originally intended for ordinations of priests <11>. Due to political circumstances (the battle at Poitiers - Karl Martell), the Missal of the Franks may have been removed from its place of origin at an early stage and subsequently influenced liturgical development in the northern parts of the country.

The earliest record of anointing of the head in connection with ordination is given in a sacramentary from around 770-80, possibly written in Cambrai in North Western France. Anointing of hands is included at ordination of priests. In the ritual for ordination of bishops the anointing of hands is included as well with the words found in the alternative formula (the Samuel-David-formula) in the Missal of the Franks. This sacramentary has, as a novelty, an anointing of the ordinand's head at the consecration of bishops.<12> Another innovation in this sacramentary is found in the ritual for the ordination of priests, where it is stated that the chasuble is to be presented to the ordinand, who is to be dressed in it.

Behind the changes in the rituals of ordination at this time are the directions in the Old Testament for the consecration of the Aaronitic priesthood. Exodus recounts the ordination of Aaron and his sons to their office (Vulgate: consecratio). The hands are mentioned first (Ex.29,41b -Et cunctorum consecrabis, manus, sanctificabisq. illos, vt sacerdotio fungantur mihi <13>), then the ritual of how the ordination of priests should be performed is presented. After the priestly habit was donned, the anointing of the head was administered <14>. In Exodus, too, is mentioned that Aaron's right thumb (as well as his right ear and right big toe) on the occasion of ordination was anointed with blood <15>. Through the anointing the priest came to hold a position as sacrificial priest - "the anointed priest" - in relationship to the people for his entire lifetime <16>.

In Exodus there is also an account of the ingredients and directions for the making of the oil of holy ointment as well as instructions of how the tabernacle of the congregation, the ark of the testimony, the table and all its vessels and the altars of incense and of burnt offering, were to be sanctified with it. This oil was not to come upon any man's flesh other than upon Aaron and his sons. It was to be holy, and anyone beside Aaron and his sons who used it was to be cut off from his people.<17>

At first, in the Old Testament, it was only the priests who were anointed, but later the kings were anointed as well. The king was in particular to be regarded as "the Lord's anointed", 1 Samuel 24,6 and 10. The unctions of kings were administered with oil on the head.<18> The above mentioned oil

of holy ointment (olive oil mixed with herbs and spices) seems not to have been used at king's anointings - at these ceremonies the oil, according to the biblical texts, should have been oil which had not been brought from the Temple, probably pure olive oil <18>.

The first time that anointing is mentioned in connection with the coronation of a Christian king is by Gildas in his work of the downfall and conquest of Britain, written around the year 545 <20>. Here is also mentioned a blessing of the priest's hands <21>, but since Gildas throughout his work frequently employed Biblical wording and phrases it is difficult to determine in what degree this anointing is to be understood literally or as a literary allusion. If anointing was being used in Britain at that time, the question must be raised why it took more than two hundred years before further records mention it again and there is no other evidence of a British use or British origins of this anointing to be found.<22>

Augustine of Canterbury arrived in England with the Gregorian Sacramentary (which contained nothing on anointing) some fifty or sixty years after Gildas wrote about the British kings and priests. He then met the British bishops and spoke to them of those customs which separated the British from the Roman and universal Church. The discussion mostly concerned the time for the celebration of Easter and the ritual for Baptism, and Augustine did not mention anointing or ordination rituals among the customs which divided the British from Rome <23>.

The Wisigoths are of greater interest than the British when the provenience of this anointing is to be found. King Wamba was the first Wisigothic king of whom it was said that he was anointed at his coronation which took place in 672. It cannot, as was the case with Gildas, simply be stated that his anointing was a literary allusion. The archbishop Julian of Toledo (680-90) in his chronicle of King Wamba's life described the coronation in the cathedral of Toledo where Wamba, kneeling, was anointed on the crown of his head by Archbishop Qviricus. Julian wrote about King Wamba while many still lived who had attended the service of coronation. He described, contrary to Gildas, the coronation of one particular king and put forward the anointing as a real event. His account does not give the impression that he wants to explain the king's authority in office by employing biblical allusions.<24> Thus, if the data of Wamba's coronation is correct, there should be records of an anointing of the head in the 7th century. Julian's sparse accounts do not reveal whether anointing was used at coronations prior to Wamba's or if it was introduced on this occasion.

Pepin the Short was crowned in the year 751, and his hands were then anointed with chrism by Boniface in Soissons. With Pepin a change of dynasty took place in France - the Merowings left the throne in favour of the Franks. In the description of the coronation, the parallel with Saul and David was drawn, Pepin being depicted as a second David.<25> There was naturally at this time a strong need to legitimate the new regent because

of the change of dynasty at the throne. It is striking, however, that the anointing used was not the biblical anointing of the head (which David received) but an anointing of hands resembling that of priests.

As in the Old Testament, there was a connection between the anointing of priests and that of kings in that the anointing in both cases conveyed power and authority and legitimated the holder of the office <26>. The sparse sources of information give here the impression that these two office-anointings to some extent in a similar way accompany each other but differ from the biblical anointings when it concerns the time of origin and are brought into use at approximately the same time in history.<27> As far as can be judged from the material, the Wisigoths seem to have played an important part through the use of anointing at King Wamba's coronation and through their influence on the ritual for ordination of priests in the Missal of the Franks <28>.

An interesting and overlooked fact in this context is that the Wisigothic kingdom contained a strong and vigorous Jewish settlement, which often met with rough methods from the Wisigoths. After the Muslims had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in the year 711 and the kingdom of the Wisigoths was dispersed, the Jews for a time were able to establish a principality in Septimania between the years 768 and 900. It is a fascinating thought what a challenge this group must have been to the Christians. Their mere existence must have involved that the offices of the Christian regents and priests were questioned and needed to be authorized on a different basis than the traditional Christian customs in order to prove themselves as true inheritors of the offices of the old covenant. In this environment where the Old Testament and discussions about its interpretation played a prominent part, it is possible that the first steps towards introducing anointing at Christian ordinations and coronations were taken.<29>

Bringing these anointings into practice was not unproblematic; the new demand for authorizing kings and priests which seems to have brought them about, involved a new way of using the Old Testament in order to apply its old ceremonies to the Christian Church. The introduction of anointing at ordinations and coronations was part of the change in attitude towards the Old Testament which took place at that time when many of the ceremonies of the old covenant were revived in the Church.

2.1.2. Development.

Ordination anointing rapidly developed from its modest position in Missale Francorum. Already a few decades later, an above mentioned sacramentary (Sacramentary of Gellone) includes not only the anointing of hands at the ordination of priests but also anointing of hands and head when bishops were consecrated. Rituals from the 10th century show that in some parts of the Church anointing had found a place at ordinations of

deacons and that anointing of the head was introduced regionally when ordaining priests. It was also possible to add some anointings to the ritual for the consecration of bishops.

The most developed form of ordination anointing can be found in The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert <30> and The Pontifical of Egbert. Both these MSS were written in the 10th century, the former in Winchester, the latter in Evreux, France, although it was related to Egbert, archbishop of York 732-66.<31> It cannot, however, be assumed that the contents of the latter pontifical is identical with that which Egbert once used in the 8th century.

For ordinations of deacons both manuscripts prescribe anointing of hands with a mixture of oil and chrism: Consecratur manus iste...<32>. The anointing of the deacon's hands is regarded as a particular English tradition, which along with the above mentioned MSS is recorded in 10th century pontificals from Cornwall and Sherborne (Pont.of S:t Dunstan), and in 12th century pontificals from Winchester and Sens <33>.

At the ordination of priests the hands were anointed with chrism after a blessing (Benedic domine et sanctifica...) had been said: Consecratur manus iste...<34>. Archbishop Robert's ritual advised a mixture of oil and chrism for this anointing <35>. Then both prescribe the use of pure oil for the following anointing of the head: Ungatur et consecratur caput tuum...<36>. The anointing of the priest's head is also regarded as being of English origin, but it is already to be found in a French 9th-10th century pontifical from Cahors. Pontificals from Sherborne (S:t Dunstan's), Cornwall, Winchester and Sens show also this anointing of the priest's head, thus giving a hint of the range of this liturgical tradition <37>.

There is also some conformity between the orders of Egbert and Robert in the ritual for consecration of bishops. The hands are anointed with chrism (Egbert) or oil & chrism (Robert) with the words: Ungatur manus iste...<38>, and the head is anointed with oil only: Ungatur et consecratur...<39>. The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert also contains one more anointing of the head which takes place earlier in the ritual, in the preface (at the words: Deus honorum omnium) and with no special rubric. Here the head is anointed with oil three times <40>.

The English further development of the anointings was never widely followed and the rich use of anointing gradually decreased. The 12th century pontifical of Thomas of Canterbury still contained the anointing of deacon's hands as well as the anointing of the head at ordination of priests, but after the 14th century the practices did not last in England or else where <41>.

In the ritual for the consecration of a bishop there should be noticed an important innovation in the variations of Egbert and Robert. Previously a formula which had been the same as in the ordination of priests in the Missale Francorum and

spoke of a prophet anointing a king (Samuel-David) had been used. Egbert retained this formula as an alternative but introduced and placed in the foreground a new formula which, more fittingly, spoke of Aaron, the High Priest, being anointed at the command of Moses (Moses-Aaron).<42>

A practice which particularly developed in France was the anointing of the right hand thumb at the consecration of a bishop with a completing anointing (Deus et Pater) immediately after the anointing of the hands.<43> The right hand thumb of the bishop had an important function in that he used that thumb when administering the anointing at confirmation, ordination, coronation, consecration of a church, etc. This was also a link with the Old Testament (Ex.29,20). The separate anointing of the thumb is recorded in several MSS - the earliest from the 10th century and the latest, possibly, from the year 1420. The earliest examples outside France are found in pontificals from Winchester and Worms (10th century) and from Mayence. On account of that this anointing was incorporated in the liturgical tradition in Mayence it was consequently included in the Pontificale Romano-Germanicum and came to be a part of the Roman ritual for the consecration of bishops. In all these cases except one (Rouen in the 14th century), pure chrism was used for the anointing of the bishop's anointing-thumb.<44>

When the rubrics with directions for the performance of liturgy became more detailed, the use of anointings was also described more thoroughly. One of the most rubricistic and at the same time one of the most widely spread and used liturgical traditions of the Middle Ages came from Salisbury in England. The Sarum-rite was used almost all over England as well as in parts of Wales and Ireland <45>. There was no anointing of the deacon's hands, nor of the priest's head in this tradition of the High Middle Ages. At the ordination of priests *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung while the ordinands, dressed in chasuble and stole, approached the bishop. The rubric following the blessing of the ordinand's hands (*Benedic et sanctifica*) was detailed. The bishop was to remove his gloves, put his ring on again and be seated with a gremial (*toballia* <46>) unfolded on his lap. After having received the oil mixed with chrism in a wad of wool on a paten the bishop was to anoint the ordinand's hands which rested on the gremial. First he made the sign of the cross twice above the hands with the words "*Consecrare et sanctificare digneris*", then he dipped his right thumb into the mixture of oil and chrism and anointed the hands, making one line from the thumb of the right hand to the index finger of the left (*nostram benedictionem*) and another from the right hand index finger to the left thumb (*consecraverint consecrentur*) so that the two lines formed a cross.

After the consecration of the hands the bishop could wash his hands or put a special thumbstall (*ponsir*), usually made of silver or gold, on his thumb, until he washed them. There is no evidence that this thumbstall was used in liturgical practice outside England although its name -*ponsir/ponser*- suggests French influences (*pouce*). The function of the thumbstall, apart from protecting the vestments, was to ensure that the

chrism did not come into contact with anything not intended to be touched by it <47>, cf. Ex. 30, 32. The newly-ordained priests were to wash their hands thoroughly according to explicit directions before the anointed palms touched anything else <48>.

For the consecration of a bishop, the Sarum rite prescribed two anointings of the head, the first with chrism mixed with oil, the second, immediately before the anointing of hands, with chrism. <49>

The rubric says that the consecrator, after he has removed his gloves as described above, was to tie a clean linen band around the ordinand's head. After a gremial had been spread on his lap the consecrator should with the right thumb put the mixture of oil and chrism at the crown of the ordinand, saying: Unguatur et consecratur caput tuum... <50>.

After the consecration preface and consecration prayer with the imposition of hands followed the antiphon about the oil which flowed down in Aaron's beard (Ps. 133) and the brief direction that only chrism was to be poured on the ordinand's head with the words: Unguatur et consecratur... Immediately after this in connection with this unction the hands were anointed: Unguantur manus istae... (Moses-Aaron). The rubric stated that, the consecrator should anoint the hands with chrism, using his right hand thumb, from the ordinand's right hand thumb to his left hand index finger, and then followed anointing of the palms of the hands, with the prayer Deus et Pater <51>. After the consecrator had wiped his hands, the crozier was presented. This double anointing of the head of a bishop gave the impression of being a particular English tradition which was practised in England for several centuries <52>.

As the use of ordination anointing developed, the rituals for preparing and consecrating chrism and other oils for liturgical use became more detailed. In the early history of the Church, pure olive oil was used for baptisms and anointings of the sick. During the 6th century it became common to mix the oil, to be used to signify the gift of the Holy Spirit, with balm, and call it chrism <53>. The Council of Braga 572 spoke of this kind of oil as being necessary for the sacrament of baptism (can. 4) <54>. From Carthage there are records as far back as the latter part of the 4th century, that only the bishop was allowed to consecrate chrism. This took place once a year, at the mass on Holy Thursday when the oil of the infirm and the oil of the catechumens were blessed. Of this tradition the Gelasian Sacramentary bears witness. This Roman custom did not become common in all parts of the Western Church until the 9th century <55>. The development in Rome will be dealt with more closely in chapter 2.1.3. when the growth of Pontificale Romanum is summed up.

A fragment of a pontifical which is sometimes compared with the orders of Egbert, Robert and S:t Dunstan is the so called Claudius I, included in a collection of fragments from some different pontificals, now found in the British Museum in

London <56>. Claudius I is a fragment from a 10th century pontifical, probably of English origin, and contains the anointings of the deacon's hand and the priest's head, as well as detailed directions for the Holy Thursday mass (Feria V. in Cena Domini) <57>. During that mass, the deacon brought the different oils in their vessels to the bishop at the altar. The bishop blessed the oils, using a formula (Emitte domine spiritum sanctum tuum paraclitum de celis in hanc pinguedinem olive...) in which anointings of priests, kings, prophets and martyrs were adduced (unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, prophetas et martyres crisma tuum perfectum domine a te benedictum). When the chrism had been mixed from oil and balm it was consecrated <58> with a short formula after which the preface for the consecration of oils was sung. This preface gives prominence to the connection with the oil in the old covenant (Inde etiam moysi famulo tuo mandatum dedisti. ut aaron fratrem suum prius aqua lotum: per infusionem huius unguenti constitueret sacerdotem) as well as with the anointing of priests, kings, prophets and martyrs <59>. After the preface the oil was exorcised (Deus qui uirtute...).

The ritual for the consecration of oils on Holy Thursday developed considerably during these centuries. The pontifical of Roger de Mardivall (bishop of Salisbury, d.1332) devotes much space to the directions for these ceremonies, describing the bringing of the oils in procession and a large number of exorcisms and prayers. Also described is how the newly-consecrated holy oils and chrism were to be venerated with genuflections and the words "Ave sanctum oleum", "Ave sanctum crisma". <60>

2.1.3. PRG and PGD.

When the printed editions of the Pontificale Romanum (PR) were distributed in Europe beginning with the first edition 1485, the liturgical orders of the PR became more prevalent at the expense of regional separate-traditions. Therefore it is of importance to outline the development and growth of the Roman rituals which led up to PR 1485. Of considerable importance to the progress of the pontifical rite in Rome were undoubtedly the Pontificale Romano-Germanicum (PRG) and the Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi (PGD). PRG is a collection of liturgical material compiled in Mayence to make a pontifical which was introduced in Rome in the second half of the 10th century and was incorporated into the rites of the Roman Church. PRG contains anointing at ordinations of priests as well as of bishops - anointing was apparently used in Rome in an established and developed fashion only a few years after its introduction in the rituals for higher ordinations. <61>

After the imposition of hands in the ritual for the ordination of priests in the PRG comes the sung ordination-preface with its clear statement connecting the Christian priesthood with that of the Old Testament <62>. Then the stole was crossed over the ordinand's chest (Accipe iugum) and the chasuble was presented (Stola innocentiae induat de dominus. Accipe vestem).

After an allocution (*Sit nobis, fratres*) and a prayer of consecration (*Deus, sanctificationum*) without any liturgical directions, the ordinand's hands were anointed with oil (*oleum sanctum*) with the words: *Consecrare et sanctificare digneris...*, then the paten with a host and a chalice with wine were given together with the explicit authority to sacrifice for the living and the dead (*Accipite potestatem offerre sacrificium*).^{<63>} The words at the anointing of the hands emphasized that the reason for the anointing was that hands, properly anointed, could consecrate, bless and sanctify. The wording in PRG must be regarded as a moderate variant of other contemporary formulas which directly stated that the priest, through the anointing, was given power to consecrate and bless with his hands.^{<64>}

At the consecration of a bishop, according to PRG, the preface of consecration came after the imposition of hands and the appropriate prayers (*Adesto, domine. Oremus, dilectissimi nobis. Propitiare, domine*). The preface held forth the connection with the old covenant and Aaron the High Priest ^{<65>}. The anointing of the ordinand's head with chrism was performed, interrupting in the middle of the preface, with the words: *Ungatur et consecratur...*, and was followed by a giving of peace after which the preface was continued with the words: *Hoc, domine, copiose*. Then the hands were anointed (*Ungantur manus iste*) and the anointing was completed with the ordinand's thumb being anointed with chrism (*Deus et Pater*). The anointings were followed by the blessing and presenting of the bishop's ring.^{<66>}

In this old wording of the preface of ordination God was thanked for his holy orders, for his decree of the sacerdotal garments and for his command to Aaron, his chosen, to wear a mystical robe while performing the holy rites. At the anointing of the head it was concisely stated that the head was anointed and consecrated with celestial blessing. The old formula from the Missal of the Franks was used at the anointing of the hands which reminded of Samuels anointing of David to be a king and a prophet and that the hands were to be likewise anointed and perfected. It was used in spite of the fact that in this case it was not a king or a prophet who was consecrated and that it was the hands, not the head (as was the case with Samuel-David), which were anointed. None of the formulas at the ordination of priests or bishops had any reference to Christ as the anointed one.

Originally, PRG contained no directions that a linen band should be tied around the head of he who was to be consecrated bishop, but it can be found in a 12th century Roman pontifical. The most interesting with the rubric is, however, that during the preface of consecration, after the imposition of hands, the linen band was to be fastened around the head of him who here still is said was to be elected (*Hic, capite ipsius electi circumligato linteo*). This shows that the ordinand, despite the imposition of hands, could be considered "electus" before the anointing. In the rubric of the anointing of the thumb he also still was spoken of as "electus" but not after that. Thus, the ordinand could be regarded as "electus" until the consecration

was completed, i.e. after the final anointing.<67>

Guilelmus Durandus compiled a pontifical during the years 1292-95 in the town Mende in Southern France. This pontifical has been of great importance for the development of pontifical liturgy and has been named after its originator - Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi (PGD). Durand studied and lectured in Italy for many years. He lived in Rome for more than thirty years and died there in 1296 after having spent only a few years in his cathedral city. Hence, the liturgical practices in Rome were well known to him, and the pontifical traditions there provided the basis for his work, into which he introduced traditions from other places as well as new material. PGD found favour in the 14th century when the Curia in Avignon found that especially its directions were clearer and more detailed than those of earlier Roman liturgy. <68>

During the 12th century, the ritual for the ordination of priests in Rome had developed a stronger emphasis on the anointing of the hands and the presenting of the chalice and paten. Consequently this was expressed by inserting the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* at the immediately foregoing action, namely the presenting of the chasuble. This, together with the very detailed directions for the anointing, underlined the impression that what here was taking place was the central part of the ordination.<69>

The introductory part of the ritual for the ordination of priests in PGD contained an address to the ordinands, probably written by Durand himself. This discourse, among other things, dealt with the examples of ministry in the Old and New Testament stressing the point that the most important task of the priest was to offer the sacrifice of mass <70>. What the anointing was concerned it took place after the presenting of the chasuble and after a prayer (*Deus sanctificationum*). While the unction of the hands was administered (*Consecrare et sanctificare digneris*), not with chrism but with the oil of the catechumens (*non cum crismate, sed cum oleo catechuminum*), *Alleluia Veni Sancte Spiritus* or *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung, depending on the time of the liturgical year. The instructions for the anointings, especially the one stressing that chrism was not to be used since it was at that time reserved for the consecrations of bishops, were accurate. When the ordinand's hands had been anointed, he was to keep them together palm-to-palm until the mass ended. When he received the chalice and paten immediately after the anointing, he accepted them only by touching them with his fingertips.<71>

The ritual for the consecration of a bishop in the PGD likewise strengthen the impression that anointing was a central and important part of the ordination. All the assisting bishops now took part in the anointing of the head with chrism which was initiated with *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Whereas there is evidence of a hymn about the Holy Spirit having been sung during the anointing at the ordination of priests before this was taken up in PGD, there is no source prior to PGD which mentions *Veni Sancte Spiritus* at the anointing of the head in the consecration ritual for bishops. This does not exclude the

possibility that Durand has taken up a tradition known to him of which there are now no records, but it does not seem probable.

The directions that all assisting bishops should not only impose their hands on the ordinand's head and say the words "Accipe spiritum sanctum", the prayer "Propitiare" and the prayer of consecration but also take part in the anointing of the head, were known from the 11th-12th century in France. PGD even says that all the bishops should take part in the anointing of the hands but that the archbishop alone should anoint the thumb. The antiphon "Unguentum in capite"(Ps.133) was sung during the anointing of the hands. Several MSS show that it was not uncommon during Durand's lifetime that the assisting bishops took part in the anointing of the hands.<72>

The anointing of the head took place after the preface of consecration in PGD with the words: Ungatur et consecratur caput tuum., and the anointing of hands after "Inungatur et consecratur", "Hoc, domine, copiose" and the intonation of the antiphon from Psalm 133 about the oil which flows down into Aaron's beard from his head. Hands and thumb were anointed with the words: Deus et Pater..., the hands with a mixture of oil and chrism and the thumb with chrism. After this anointing the crozier was blessed and presented.<73>

The ritual for the consecration of oils on Holy Thursday belongs to the part of the pontifical in which it is possible to see clearly that there was a development from PRG to PGD. Foremost it concerns the directions in the rubrics about processions and the procedures that take up more space in PGD than the actual text.

In PRG much is kept of the old Roman rite, the Gelasian Sacramentary, but additions in both rubrics and text were made during the time leading up to the PR of the 12th century (PR XII c.).<74>

In PRG, the ritual for the consecration of chrism opened with a rubric concerning the number assistants, their vestments and tasks, and this was followed by the hymn (Audi iudex mortuorum) which marked the beginning of this part of the mass of Holy Thursday. After a detailed instruction in the Pontifical of how the vessels and other accessoires needed for the consecration were to be brought forward and put in order in front of the bishop, there was a blessing before the mixing of the oil and balm (Dominum nostrum omnipotentem), after which the bishop mixed the components, saying: May this mixture of liquids be made for the propitiation of all who are anointed, that they may be preserved in safety for ever, Amen. The following exorcism (Exorcizo te, creatura olei) and the preface of consecration (Aequum et salutare nos tibi semper) stem from the Gelasian Sacramentary. In the preface was brought to mind the Old Testament use of oil - Davids anointing (Nam et David prophetico spiritu gratiae tuae sacramenta praeoscens) and Aaron's (Inde etiam Moysi famulo tuo mandatum dedisti, ut Aaron fratrem suum prius aqua lotum per infusionem huius unguenti constitueret sacerdotem; as in Claudius I) - but also

of how Christ was anointed with the Holy Spirit at his baptism. The preface numbered anointing of priests, kings, prophets and martyrs. This can be understood as an allusion to the anointing of the baptism of all Christians to become a royal priesthood which bears witness of God (1 Pet.2.). In its continuation it also speaks of the anointing and the new creation of the baptism.

After this preface, the consecration of the oil of the catechumens, the exorcism (*Exorcizo te, creatura olei*) and the prayer (*Deus incrementorum*) took place before the mass continued with *Agnus Dei* and communion. After the mass, the bishop entrusted some of the newly consecrated oil and chrism to the priests of the diocese for use in their parishes, mainly at baptisms, the thereafter following year.

In PGD, the ritual of the consecration of oils is somewhat different <75>. The oil of the infirms was as in PRG consecrated immediately before the chrism and the oil of the catechumens, and the special position of chrism was marked by the hymn *Audi iudex mortuorum* being sung before its consecration, thus separating it from the consecration of the oil of the infirms. In PGD, however, even more attention is directed to the consecration of chrism.

The directions, which are so elaborate that they cannot be outlined here, even briefly, contain the instruction that a separate table was to be put in front of the bishop where he was seated surrounded by the priests and deacons. The archdeacon had a prominent function in this ritual in that it was he who put forward and presented that which the bishop was to bless.

When the oil of the infirms (*oleum infirmorum*) had been consecrated, the archdeacon announced the bringing forward of the chrism and the oil of the catechumens in their ampulls, while the choir sang the hymn (cf.above). A subdeacon brought the vessel containing the balm to the bishop who blessed it with two prayers, new to the Roman ritual, the second (*Creaturarum omnium, domine, procreator*) of which directly connects to the Old Testament directions of how the mixing of the oil of holy ointment should be performed. Then a prayer was said for the mixing of oil and balm (*Deum nostrum omnipotentem*) and the chrism was prepared, with the words: *Hoc commixtio liquorum...* This was followed by an exorcism and the preface for the consecration of oils, whereupon the chrism was venerated with the words: *Ave sanctum crisma*. The oil of the catechumens passed through a blessing and an exorcism before it, too, was saluted: *Ave sanctum oleum*. The mass was continued after the procession had carried the oils and chrism to the sacristy.

2.2. The meaning of ordination anointing.

The brief outline of the liturgical development clearly shows the tendency to attach more and more importance to the anointing in the ordination rituals for priests and bishops.

One of the climaxes of the ceremony was reached at the anointing, and this was liturgically stressed in different ways. From the point when anointing was first put into practice and up to PRG and PGD, the position of anointing in the rituals was increasingly emphasized.

A liturgical innovation could hardly be made without the harmonisation of theology. In some cases, theological changes are followed by a renewal of the liturgical life, but when ordination anointing is concerned, the order seems to have been the other way around according to the sources. Anointing was probably introduced for externally stipulated reasons that widely could be characterised as national and ecclesiastical politics <1>. The theology of ordination and holy orders of that time confirms this impression by the fact that the first explanations and commentaries of anointing can only be found after the earliest records of its being practised. When anointing at ordinations of priests and bishops was already a fact, it was given a place in theological expounding.

This chapter will show the theological motives of the introductory phase of ordination anointing and how theology correspond to the liturgical development towards a stronger and stronger accentuation on anointing.

At first, several conclusions concerning the intentions behind the practice of anointing and the theological background of it can be drawn from the liturgical material. The earliest records - the Missal of the Francs and the Sacramentary of Gellone - are of interest here. As has been mentioned before, there are signs in the formulas at anointings indicating that parts of previously written texts belonging to other contexts have been inserted into the rituals of ordination. The Samuel-David formula, for example, does not seem to belong in the context of the anointing of hands, and when studied more closely it proved that parts of this very text recur in older liturgical material concerning baptism. There are other parts of the text at anointings which can also be traced to earlier MSS, but the connection between baptism and this anointing is of particular importance in order to understand the meaning of anointing since it was practised at baptism long before it was introduced at ordinations. A Samuel-David formula is possible to find in the order for baptism in the Bobbio Missal from about the year 700 -I anoint thee with holy oil as Samuel anointed David as king and prophet <2>- but also in the ritual for the extreme unction <3>.

The view that there is a theological relationship between the anointings of priests and kings in the old covenant and the anointing of baptism in the new covenant is found as early as with the Church father Tertullian. He stated that the anointing of baptism had a meaning similar to that in the Old Testament so that the people of God become a royal priesthood through baptism and anointing as the apostle writes in 1 Pet.2,5 and 2,9 <4>.

The ritual for the consecration of chrism also contains a formula about the oil "with which thou didst anoint priests,

prophets, kings and martyrs" which recurs in many early liturgical texts and is possible to find in the Gelasian Sacramentary which was written in the 8th century but in many ways reflects an earlier tradition. The aim of the consecration of chrism was mainly the anointing at baptism. The relationship between the anointing of priests of the old covenant and the anointing which took place after the baptism in water was underlined with the words "Thou didst give command to thy servant Moses that he should establish Aaron his brother as priest by the pouring of his oil, after he had been washed in water".<5> Thus, the anointing of Christians at baptism was considered similar to the anointing which Aaron received from Moses and to the other anointings of the Old Testament <6>.

Towards the end of the 4th century, the Church father John Chrysostom showed the connection between the anointing of the priest in the old covenant and the anointing of the Christian at baptism in his commentary on the letters of S:t Paul to Timothy:

With this we are anointed at our Baptism, then we savor sweetly of it; but it must be by our care afterwards that we retain the savor. Of old the Priests were anointed with ointment, as an emblem of the virtue, the fragrance of which a Priest should diffuse around him.<7>

Cyril of Jerusalem (or possibly John, his successor) was also of the opinion that the anointing with chrism at baptism was prefigured in the Old Testament when Aaron and Solomon were anointed priest and king. This anointing was what gave a person the right to call himself Christian - that name alluding to the anointing with chrism at baptism <8>.

During the same century, Ambrose wrote about this anointing:

Understand why this is done, because the wise man's eyes are in his head. It flowed down unto the beard - that is, unto the grace of youth - even unto Aaron's beard, for this purpose, that you mayest become a chosen generation, priestly, precious; for we are all anointed with spiritual grace unto the kingdom of God and the priesthood.<9>

It is obvious that Ambrose, as the above mentioned fathers, applies the old covenant anointing of Aaron to what happens at baptism when anointing with chrism is administered. Ambrose alludes to 1 Pet.2,9, where the apostle writes of the chosen generation, the royal priesthood. Everyone was anointed at baptism in order to share the kingship and priesthood (Ambrose: consacerdotium) of Christ.

This concept recurs clearly in Orational Visigotico (early 8th century) where, alluding to baptism, Christ the great and good High Priest was implored that his people "anointed with the sacred ointment they may become a royal priesthood, a holy nation".<10>

Through the description of the liturgical development from the introduction of ordination anointing up to PRG and PGD, it has been possible here to draw some conclusions about the meaning of this anointing. Firstly, it is quite obvious that the position of anointing was fortified during this time. Because of this, as much attention was given in the rituals to the anointing as an essential part of the ordination as was given to the imposition of hands. From the liturgical material it is also possible to show an important relationship between ordination anointing and the baptismal anointing with chrism.

2.2.1. The Introduction of Ordination Anointing.

When anointing was introduced at ordination, its meaning became different from that of the anointing at baptism. The anointing with chrism at baptism wanted to express that every Christian become partakers of the kingship and priesthood of Christ - all Christians are incorporated in Christ through baptism and anointing. At the ordination, however, the priest's hands were anointed to perform a separate task which was not due to all Christians - his hands should bless and sanctify. This anointing was used in the same way as in the Old Testament, namely to separate the priest from the rest of the people. Through the use of anointing at ordination it was underlined that the main task of the priest was to consecrate bread and wine with his hands and to bring forward the sacrifice for the living and the dead.

In the earliest record of a theological change in favour of anointing in the concept of ordination, the connection between the consecration of the Eucharistic elements and the anointing of the hands was of prominent importance. Bishop Theodulf of Orleans wrote to his priests in the end of the 8th century to remind them of the meaning of priest's office and ordination:

You should always be mindful of your great dignity, mindful of your consecration, mindful of the holy anointing that you received upon your hands...so that you will not degenerate from that dignity, nor make void your consecration, nor defile those hands anointed with the sacred.<11>

In his great work about the offices of the Church, Liber Officialis, Amalar could write, around the year 827, about the meaning of anointing at the ordination of priests and the link with the anointings of the Old Testament. Amalar belonged to the court of Louis the Pious, the son and successor of Charlemagne, and worked directly in favour of ordination

anointing which had been repressed by Charlemagne for the benefit of the Roman rite which at that time lacked such anointing. Amalar wrote expressly that presbyters were chosen in the place of Aaron's sons and that the priest's hands were to be anointed to perform the priestly duties, as it was written in the Book of Numbers. The custom of the old covenant to anoint the priest's hands was, according to Amalar, to be kept by the bishops of the Church. In the chapter "On the Bishop", the anointing at the consecration of a bishop was the point to which Amalar devoted most attention.<12>

The change in opinion during that time in favour of anointing as one of the most essential parts of ordination is shown by a brief comment in a MS from the beginning of the 9th century -Munich Clm 14 510. In this manuscript, the ordination rituals are accompanied by short comments which are inserted between the ritual for the making of ostiaries and of lectors. The commentary tersely states what was considered most important at that time in the rituals for the making of exorcists, acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, priests and bishops, and for the ordination of priests, the anointing stands as the only mark: Ad presbiterum vero benedicit pontifex manus cum chrisma super altare. For the consecration of a bishop, it was the Gospel-book (held above the ordinand's head) that was outpointed <13>.

In a speech to a gathering of bishops Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845-82) linked the anointing of hands to the sacrament of Christ's blood, thus emphasizing the sacerdotal duty of the priest <14>. In a letter to the Archbishop of Metz Hincmar described the ritual of the consecration of a bishop, and went into detail about the anointing, mentioning that the consecration was complete when the bishop's hand had been anointed (perfecta consecratione)<15>.

When the abbot Regino completed a compilation of canonical directions dedicated to the Archbishop of Mayence in the year 906, he included a quotation from a council in Tours, now unknown. This quotation prescribes that the holy chrism and the oils with which kings and priests were anointed were to be kept carefully under lock and key so that no unauthorised person could come into contact with them <16>.

Regino's directory throws light upon the meaning of the chrism and oil not only for ordination but for coronation as well. The coronation anointing, which more and more came to be the climax of the coronation ceremony, developed along with ordination anointing. Theologically, the office of the king became more like the sacred office of the king of the old covenant, and through the coronation anointing, the king became spiritually separated from the rest of the people. In the year 794, Paulin of Aquileia wrote that the king was lord and father, king and priest (dominus et pater...rex atque sacerdos) and in the same year the synod in Frankfurt denoted the king as "episcopus episcoporum"<17>. One coronation ritual prescribed that the king should, at the coronation, be reminded by the bishops that he now shared their office (particeps ministerii nostri)<18>. The king was often compared to King

David, and Hincmar's words to Charles the Bald in the year 868 that he had received the kingship through spiritual anointing and blessing rather than through earthly power, can be said to be typical of the time <19>.

The development of the role of the king in the coronation ceremony shows that he was considered more than a layman. He was clothed in a dalmatic (the liturgical vestment of the deacon) and a cope. At the coronation of an emperor, even a mitre could be put on his head <20>. The gloves, ring, staff and other clothing of the king strengthened the impression that the king was not considered a layman, but held an ecclesiastical office. In the matins before the coronation mass, the king read the gospel - a task which is normally performed by the deacon.

There was no imposition of hands in the coronation ritual, so it was only the anointing which gave the impression that the king was given participation in the office of the Church. This is confirmed by the above mentioned words of Hincmar. The anointing -not the imposition of hands- changed the position of the king from a layman into wearing a dalmatic and being called "pater", "sacerdos" and "episcopus episcoporum". As the anointing gave this result it is not surprising that one finds that the coronation could be regarded as one of the sacraments of the Church and that expressions like "the sacrament of the anointing of kings" existed.<21> Through the coronation and anointing the king received an office which was intended to recall the thought of the priest-kings of the old covenant. It also becomes easier to understand why the position of ordination anointing could become so prominent in the light of the knowledge that the king was considered by many to share the office of the Church through anointing only, without imposition of hands.

2.2.2. Pseudo-fathers.

In order to strengthen the arguments for the use of ordination anointing, the advocates of anointing acted in a way which was not uncommon. The position of anointing was confirmed with the aid of falsifications in the names of known and respected Church Fathers. These falsifications are of considerable value for later research, in that they are documents characteristic of their period and reveal how the theology of that time differed from earlier periods. Two types of falsifications will be dealt with here, newly-forged texts and old, well-known texts which were reworded and given additions.

Amalar showed how a text by St. Augustine and one by Gregory could be made to say something about anointing if some words and sentences were left out and some were added. In his tract on Ps.133 which is about the oil flowing down to Aaron's beard, Augustine wrote about anointing as a spiritual inner anointing. Augustine interpreted the psalm as referring to the anointing at Aaron's ordination but expounded it to apply to

Christ and his Church which was anointed by the Holy Spirit. Amalar omitted the words about the Holy Spirit, and inserted a phrase about the bishop's head being anointed (*Vicarius Christi pontifex efficitur: ideo in capite ungitur*). He then continued by referring to a quotation from Gregory the Great from *Moralia in Job* which was also distorted so that it could be understood as alluding to the anointing of the head. (Gregory: *Oleum quippe in capite est charitas in mente*; the version of Amalar: *Oleum in capite caritas in mente...*) <22>

Isidore acted in a similar way in the False Decretals which were written in the middle of the 9th century. They were spread, and in the Middle Ages they were often quoted as evidence of a very early practice of ordination anointing. <23> Isidore made changes and additions in favour of anointing in a letter ascribed to Pope Clement. The original which was falsified has also proved to be pseudo-Clementian. In the earlier pseudo-text, Aaron's anointing was expounded as a model of a spiritual, not physical, anointing but Isidore changed it into a direct statement, that bishops were to be anointed with chrism. <24>

In the False Decretals there is also a false letter in which Isidore, in the name of Pope Anacletus, described how James, the brother of Christ, was consecrated bishop with anointing by the apostles Peter, James and John. This letter gave apostolic authority to the practice of the anointing of the head at consecrations, and also referred to the Old Testament. The attention was focused on the chrism, which was considered to carry and transmit the power of the Holy Spirit:

Every sanctification depends on the Holy Ghost, whose invisible power is mixed with the Holy Chrism. <25>

During the Middle Ages, the story of the consecration of James by the apostles was used as a strong argument to prove that this anointing was an apostolic tradition.

Isidore also included a letter ascribed to Pope Leo the Great, in which Leo describes the tasks of the Choir-bishop and compares the ordination of priests with the ordination of Aaron by Moses. <26>

It is not surprising that Cyprian is found among those who have had falsifications ascribed to him. Cyprian stressed the sacerdotal part of the ministry, where ordination anointing fitted well into the picture. *De Cardinalibus Christi* contains a whole chapter concerning the anointing with chrism "and other sacraments". This chapter deals mainly with the anointing at baptism, but also includes the anointings in the Old Testament. In this context, pseudo-Cyprian maintained that anointing was not only kept for kings and priests, but its mercies flowed richly over the whole Catholic people. <27>

One falsification which has often been referred to in favour of ordination anointing is older than the practice itself and does not really deal with it, although chrism is

often mentioned in the text. It is Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, who claimed to have originated during apostolic times and was often, because of this, favoured at the expense of the Fathers during the Middle Ages and was considered almost equivalent to the apostolic texts. The writings of Pseudo-Dionysius contains four treatises and ten letters, and the hierarchy and orders of the church are dealt with in seven chapters. They were probably written in the 6th century and were translated into Latin in France during the 9th century.

This translation was made in exactly that part of Europe and at exactly that time the ordination anointing was being introduced. Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite wrote repeatedly of the anointing in the sections about the hierarchy of the Church, but in the Greek original text it was evident that he did not intend a material one with oil but wrote about a spiritual anointing. Because of the fact that that which Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite had written was often used in the defence of ordination anointing during the Middle Ages, it can be cautiously assumed here that the translation from Greek into Latin was made in such a manner that the anointing in the text could be interpreted as a real, material anointing. <28>

2.2.3. The Church Fathers.

Quotations from the Fathers were used for further strengthening of the arguments in favour of anointing at the ordinations of priests and bishops. Short and appropriate references to the writings of the Fathers could give the impression that the Fathers had written about a common practice which was well known to them. As has been mentioned above, the Fathers wrote of the anointing at baptism and compared it with the anointing of Aaron, the High Priest, by Moses. When ordination anointing was explained and defended in the Middle Ages, the words of the Fathers about the anointing of Aaron were often taken out of the context of the baptism. Thus, the above mentioned texts by Chrysostom and Ambrose were used for the pre-dating of ordination anointing, after all references to baptism had been removed. When Pacian used the expression "unctus sacerdos" in his third letter to Novatian in the 4th century, he could hardly have guessed that this would be used in the Middle Ages as evidence of ordination anointing, since his letter spoke of the baptism and the gift of the Holy Spirit. <29>

Texts from the writings of the Fathers which did not deal at all with anointing, although they concerned baptism and the old covenant, were used to defend anointing. Thus, a phrase in Augustine's De Baptismo contra Donatistas was used to underline the assumption that the whole Church had kept this practice as an apostolic tradition. <30> De Baptismo contra Donatistas mainly concerns the baptism of infants and circumcision.

The writings of St. John Chrysostom were also used to

support ordination anointing, despite the fact that it had never been practised in the Eastern churches, and therefore never was practised in the entire Christian Church. In his commentary to the Letter to the Philippians, Chrysostom used a pun in the Greek text on the words "mercy" (eleon) and "oil" (elaion) which were homonyms at that time. The pun became impossible when the text was translated into Latin, and the words of Chrysostom that kings and priests were anointed with "mercy" proved useful to the advocates of ordination anointing.

Nothing so much pleases God as mercy.
Wherefore with this the priests were anointed, and the kings, and the prophets, for they had, in oil, a type of God's love to man and they further learnt, that rulers should have a greater share of mercy. It showed that the Spirit is to come to men through mercy, since God pities and is kind to men... For this cause they were anointed with oil: and indeed it was from mercy He appointed the priesthood. <31>

In a sermon on the Lord's passion, Leo the Great mentioned the sacrifice which Christ made, and described him as a priest in the Old Testament sense. This was used in favour of anointing because he who celebrates the sacrifice of Christ was, according to Leo, to be anointed like the priests of the old covenant. <32>

Further support for ordination anointing was taken from Moralia in Job by Gregory the Great. Gregory commented on the verse in which Job recalls how God blessed him before and as an illustration of happiness, Job says that oil flowed from the rock (Job 29,6). In his commentary, Gregory pointed to Christ as the rock from which the grace of the Holy Spirit flows into the Church. <33> When someone read this in the light of ordination anointing, he could easily understand it as the anointing transmitting this grace from Christ, through bishops and priests, to all Christians. The verse which Gregory alluded to (1 Cor. 10,4) is about the rock from which water flowed in the desert.

The expounding of Archbishop Isidore of Sevilla (about 560-636) is the one in which the link between the consecrations of priests in the old covenant and the ministry of the Church was made most clear. In *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* he described the consecration of Aaron and his sons in such a way that it is easily understood as a prefiguration of the ritual of the Church. Despite mentioning the anointing, Isidore did not, however, seem to intend anointing to be used at the ordinations of the Church, since he expressly wrote that consecration took place at the imposition of hands. <34>

Before the introduction of ordination anointing, some Fathers of the Church tended to ascribe special power to the oil, and to be of the opinion that the Holy Spirit was more or less mixed into the oil. This concept is fully developed in the above mentioned quotation from Pseudo-Anacletus, and it was

strengthened when anointing was introduced at ordinations to offices, particularly at coronations where the king received an office at least equivalent to that of the deacon through anointing but without the imposition of hands.

Origen said that "the anointing is the indwelling of the Holy Spirit" <35> and Hippolyte, in his commentary on Daniel and alluding to the bath of Susanna, raised the question "what is the oil but the power of the Holy Ghost?" <36> In his letter 69, around the year 225, Cyprian stressed the necessity to anoint all who were baptized. In this context he mentioned the oil which had been blessed on the altar. <37>

In the 4th century, two Fathers carried the importance of the oil and its consecration even further than Cyprian did, in that they compared the consecration of the oil with the consecration of the bread in the Eucharist, thus making the oil a transmitter of spiritual grace.

Cyril of Jerusalem wrote in his Mystagogical Catechism:

But see thou suppose not this to be plain ointment. For as the Bread of the Eucharist, after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer simple bread, but the Body of Christ, so also this holy ointment is no longer plain ointment, nor, as one might say, common, after Invocation, but Christ's gift of grace, and is made effectual to impart the Holy Ghost by the presence of His own Godhead. <38>

Gregory of Nyssa wrote in a similar way around the year 376 in a sermon on the baptism of Christ:

The bread again is at first common bread, but when the sacramental action consecrates it, it is called and becomes, the Body of Christ. So with the sacramental oil; so with the wine: though before the benediction they are of little value, each of them, after the sanctification bestowed by the Spirit, has its several operation. <39>

For these Fathers, the anointing oil was obviously not only an outer sign of an inner gift which could just as well be given without anointing. The oil carried and transmitted a gift from God in a way which recalled the consecrated bread of the Eucharist.

In the Apostolic Constitution VII, XLII, the wording in the formula of consecration of oils seems to confirm this: "sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and impart to it spiritual grace and efficacious strength." <40> This recalls the prayer in the Gelasian Sacramentary: "Mix in the power of the Holy Spirit through the might of thy Christ." <41>

Early in the 6th century in Rome, John the Deacon raised

this question in connection with the signification of anointing at baptism:

If someone baptized without the unction of chrism or the blessing of the pontiff departs from this life, is he hindered (ob-sit), or not? <42>

The opinion that the consecrated oil received an intrinsic value which it had lacked before was not shared by all. Ambrose and Augustine, for example, stressed that the anointing was only an outward sign of an inner, spiritual gift. <43> Despite this, the former opinion came to dominate the High and Late Middle Ages when the rituals for the blessing of oils and consecration of chrism were developed and the position of anointing at ordinations and coronations was fortified.

2.2.4. Form and Matter of Ordination.

During the Middle Ages, there was a widely felt uncertainty concerning the most significant part of the ordination or, to use a scholastic expression, the form and matter of ordination. Some theologians regarded the imposition of hands as the essential matter of the ordination, some claimed that the presenting of the chalice and paten with the words of the authority to sacrifice for the living and the dead was form and matter. Others maintained the significance of anointing, usually in combination with one of the other parts.

At the beginning of the 12th century, Yves of Chartres regarded the tradition of instruments as highly significant, but was of the opinion that the spiritual power and the grace of consecrating were given through anointing: "the hands of priests and bishops are anointed, so that they receive by this sacred rite and in the power of the Holy Ghost the grace of consecrating." <44>

Later in the 12th century, Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard used similar expressions, but they were more careful where the significance of anointing was concerned. In *De Sacramentis*, Hugh of St. Victor wrote about the presenting of the chalice and paten in such a way that it is obvious that he was of the opinion that the authority to sacrifice had already been given. Peter Lombard wrote similarly about the anointing, taking the view that the power to consecrate had been given before the anointing. <45>

Several 12th century theologians were of the opinion that anointing was essential to the ordination of priests. In *Gemma animae*, Honorius of Autun wrote that the power to consecrate the body of Christ was given through anointing. Similar views were expressed by Hildebert in 1134, Stephanus de Balgicō in 1136 and by Bandinus in the year 1165. <46>

In his *Mitrale* from the end of the 12th century, Sicard, bishop of Cremona claimed that anointing belonged to the

essence of ordination together with the vesting in stole and chasuble and the tradition of instruments. He did not even mention the imposition of hands - he seems to have regarded it as one of the things which made the ordination more ceremonious, in that he wrote that what preceded and followed after the essential parts was intended to convey solemnity. <47>

Pope Innocent III wrote about the holy anointing, quoting the letter of Pseudo-Anacletus where it said that the invisible power of the Holy Spirit was mixed in the chrism. <48> He also dealt with the anointing at the consecration of bishops, comparing it with the anointing in Ps. 133. The hands were anointed in order that the bishop should receive the power to bless and to consecrate. <49> Innocent also mentioned the difference between the anointing of kings and that of bishops on the basis of the differences in the ritual in the pontifical. He explained the words of St. Peter, "genus electum, regale sacerdotium", by saying that not only kings and priests were anointed but all Christians were anointed after baptism. <50>

In the 12th century, Albert the Great wrote down what he considered to be the six most important points of the ordination, in *Compendium theologiae*. The first was the potency of the office, given through the bishop. Secondly, the matter of ordination, i.e. the anointing (*scilicet unctio in sacerdotibus*). Thirdly, the form of the ordination - the words which were said. The fourth point was the male sex, since a woman cannot receive (*recipit*) the character of the office. The fifth point is the correct intention and the sixth is that the ordinand must be baptized. <51> The classification into groups of matter and form which was typical of the scholastic tradition can be noticed here. Albert did not, however, maintain that only anointing was the matter of ordination - this is opposed by his *Commentary on the Sentences* from the middle of the 12th century where he claimed that the matter was the tradition of instruments by the bishop. <52>

The most prominent theologian of the High Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas, clearly explained what the right form and matter of ordination was, namely the presenting of the chalice with the words about the power to sacrifice for the living and the dead. The main task of the priest was to consecrate, and the power to do this was given at the tradition of instruments. The priestly character was given at this presentation. <53> Thomas refuted six objections to this, the first being the rejection of the opinion that the priest was consecrated through the anointing. This shows how widely spread the understanding of anointing as the matter of ordination was. Thomas counted the anointing, together with the imposition of hands and the blessing, as preparatory to the giving of the power to consecrate. <54> Through the blessing, the ordinand was separated for a holy duty, through the imposition of hands, the grace which qualified for the higher office was given, and the anointing consecrated the ordinand to administer the sacrament. That, according to Thomas was why only the priest, not the deacon, was anointed - only the hands of the priest

administered the body of Christ. <55>

Durand, the man behind PGD, had important views on the substance of ordination. He counted the presenting of stole, chasuble, chalice and paten and the anointing as the substance of ordination, but he did not mention the imposition of hands. This can be seen in PGD, where the climax of the ordination is begun by the presenting of the stole and chasuble, and culminates in the anointing and is completed by the giving of the power to sacrifice, together with the chalice and paten. <56>

It is evident that the theologians did not have a uniform view of what the most important element in the ordination was. The Sarum tradition shows one way of escaping the problem by stating what was the form and matter. Hugh of St. Victor was quoted in the beginning of this pontifical. He had said that the hands of priests as well as of bishops were anointed so that they should realize that they had received, through this sacrament, the grace to consecrate, and that the anointing of the bishop's head was performed so that he should know that he represented Christ. <57>

In an explanation of the sacraments dating from around 1400 from the convent of Vadstena in Sweden (De Septem Sacramentis), the common view that the priest's hands were anointed with chrism because they consecrated the body of Christ, was confirmed. <58>

In the year 1483 Guido of Montrocher made a comment in Manipulus Curatorum on Thomas's view of the form and matter, but he tended to overinterpret Thomas. Guido wished Thomas had stated that the priestly character was given through the anointing of the hands. <59>

Until the end of the controversy of investiture, the emphasis on the sacramental character of the kingship grew with the development of the position of anointing. Chrism was used at coronations as well as at consecrations of bishops until Pope Innocent forbade the use of chrism at coronations. The oil of the catechumens was to be used, <60> so that the coronation should not be confused with the consecration of bishops, where the anointing of the head with chrism was of great importance. Despite this prohibition, no changes took place at the coronations in Germany, England and France <61> until the 14th century. For the understanding of the significance of coronation anointing, this meant a development away from the sacramental view in which the coronation had been regarded as an ordination to an ecclesiastical office more important than that of the bishops - episcopus episcoporum. <62>

2.3. Conclusions.

In this chapter, no actual newly-discovered material has been used, but already known and published material from different contexts has been collected under a new question. The

most important result has been the bringing forward of an earlier untreated connection - that between the ordination anointing and the anointing with chrism at baptism.

The reports of several scholars and many manuscripts have been used to reach conclusions about the medieval practice of ordination anointing. To bring comparisons with coronation into the context of ordination is not new - Eichmann, among others, has done this. Liturgical and theological material about the consecration of chrism and oil are, however, brought in for the first time, if only sparingly, to indicate the significance and contexts of the anointing.

Neither are the thoughts presented in this chapter about the Jewish settlement new, nor, as has been mentioned earlier, are the ideas of its sociological influence on the Christian Church - this has been shown before by Kottje and others. The new attempt here is to link these ideas to this context, and therefore the conclusions are somewhat different from those which have put forward by earlier scholars.

Now it can be stated here that the Christian Church, liturgically as well as theologically, connected the Old Testament anointings of priests and kings with the anointing performed at baptism, immediately after the immersion, with chrism. This anointing was intended to confirm the effect of baptism, and the newly baptized person was expressly to be incorporated with the priestly and royal, with Holy Spirit anointed, body of Christ. In this way, the anointing was to be regarded as an revelatory act, which explained and clarified the baptism, but the anointing and the oil were at an early stage given a value of their own with influence on the completeness of baptism. Thus, this anointing was early in most parts of the Church considered to be of importance concerning the right of the baptized one to be called a Christian and for his part in the people of Christ, the people of priests and kings, in his royal, priestly and prophetic office, according to 1 Pet.2,9. Therefore it was not unnatural in an environment where the position of anointing at baptism was strong and linked with Old Testament anointings of priests and kings, that the idea sooner or later appeared of using such an act at coronations and ordinations as well. If this idea had been allowed to root itself and grow, the most commonly occurring development would have been that connections with anointing when the offices of the priest and the king were described would have been found increasingly often before this anointing was gradually made concrete in the liturgical order. Liturgy is in its nature conservative, and not in itself receptive. It consists of acts performed in communion which are preserved from generation to generation, and the very preservation of a given liturgical order without to greater innovation is part of the most important side of liturgy - the maintenance of the divine service of the communion with the faithful of all times.

Problems often occur when liturgical change is hurried or perhaps even initiated for external reasons which have not been theologically and liturgically prepared. Such problems can be clearly distinguished during the introductory stage of

ordination anointing, and they had consequences for several centuries to come - consequences which in their turn caused new problems in the Church and which can be traced through the time of the reformation and up to the present day.

During the time when this anointing was introduced into the ordinals, falsifications appeared, as well as supplements of writings of the Fathers of the Church and misinterpretations, certainly not unconsciously made, of previously known works of the Fathers. The liturgical formulations at the use of anointing have been revealed as compilations of already existing prayers, and, foremostly, these formulations do not, on closer scrutiny, appear quite fitting to use at an ordination.

All this put together must lead up to the conclusion that the introduction of ordination anointing was hurried for particular external reasons, and was maybe entirely dependent upon circumstances other than the view of the Church for its being put into practice. It is close at hand to suggest as a possible reason the need of renewed legitimation of the offices of the kings and priests which may have been caused by a strong Jewish settlement, where the Christian kings and priests may have wished to appear as the true inheritors of the offices of the Old Testament. It is striking that in the sources this anointing at its introduction was not linked with Christ, the anointed one, but with David and Aaron. Therefore, a possible conclusion is that the background reasons were more concerned with the relationship of the Christian society with the Jewish one, and the relationship of the Christian Church to the Judaic doctrines, than with a changed or renewed relationship to Christ. If political intentions are allowed to rule theology and liturgy and to direct, this could in many cases cause complicated consequences. The consequences of the introduction of ordination anointing were essential - a long-lasting, problematic uncertainty about the form and meaning of ordination, which has to a certain extent also influenced the conception of the nature of ministry in the Church.

For some centuries around the time ordination anointing was introduced, several other different types of anointings were brought into the liturgy of the Christian Church. These anointings like ordination anointing, were modeled from the Old Testament. The churches, the altars, the vestments, bells and chalices were to be anointed with holy ointment. At least in the case of anointing the altar at the consecration of churches, it seems to have been in use before ordination anointing was put into practice - according to the sources probably in the 6th century <63>.

Thus, this anointing is here put into a greater context where ceremonies from the Old Testament were transferred to the liturgy of the Church. In this context it is not surprising to find that anointing was brought into the ordination as it was on so many other occasions in the life of the liturgy of the Church. It was not until the more precise circumstances concerned with this anointing, and especially its relation with baptism were revealed, that the conclusions presented above

could be drawn.

PLATES

Hæc expleta. consecrata ei manus.
si nō de habuit consecratus orde
ne quo supra prefiximus.

1. MS Addit. 15 222 fol.16 v.

Consecrantur & sc̃ificantur manus ei
to p̃ istā unctionē. Antām bene
dictionē. ut quāvis: recto sc̃ifica
uerint uel benedixerint. sint sc̃i
ficata & benedicta. Amen.

2. MS Addit. 15 222 fol.11 r.

3. TIMES OF CHANGE

Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

The 16th century was to be a time of change for ordination anointings. The earlier anointing traditions were continued with supporting theology which suggested, and sometimes stated in a straightforward manner, that anointing was an indispensable part of the ordinations of bishop and priests. In the new, printed Pontificale Romanum, from the year 1485 issued in several consecutive editions, the position of anointing was retained. In the education of priests at the seminaries of the Roman Catholic Church, the motivation of anointing was taken from this new PR. At the Council of Trent ordination was discussed several times, and it was confirmed in the discussions and the resolution concerning ordination that anointing could not be discarded from the ordination ritual without a deviation from the true Church. Those who discarded anointing were condemned by the council.

This condemnation went against the reformers, with Martin Luther as the most prominent figure. They had violently opposed anointing at ordinations and in severe terms turned against that which was represented by anointing. It was abolished in all Protestant Churches. In Sweden, however, anointing was reinstituted for some years during the reign of John III while he was negotiating for a reunion with the Roman Catholic Church.

This chapter will show how the different views were contrasted and how they made were manifest in the ordinations.

3.1. The Separation.

It is well known that the reformers did not in all respects share the ideas of the Catholic Church about the office and the ordination, and often in severe terms turned against what they regarded as misuses in that Church. For the reformers, the Sacrament of Orders could not be regarded as a sacrament as it had not, in the same way as the Baptism, the Penance and the Eucharist been instituted by Christ in the New Testament.

It has often been overlooked that the reformers directed strong criticism against the practice of ordination anointing.

As the most prominent figure of the reformation, Luther forwarded this criticism with the greatest emphasis and linked it with other aspects of his renewed theological reflection. Also on this issue, he was to exercise influence on the views of others.

Therefore, it is of primary interest to investigate Luther's sayings about ordination anointing and the concrete measures which were taken as a result of these views on the priesthood. After this, and in the light of Luther, other reformers in Germany, Sweden and England will be dealt with. A quotation from Calvin's Institutio <1> was to be of significance at the Council of Trent, but as Calvin rejected ordination anointing without any further discussion and his views on ordination differed so markedly from those of the other reformers, he will not be included in this investigation <2>.

3.1.1. Luther.

Martin Luther's criticism of ordination anointing was founded on his overall view of what a Christian was and how a Christian congregation should work. This makes it necessary to touch on other issues concerning ordination and ministry and still wider areas of conflict when investigating Luther's views. Luther's criticism of ordination anointing was connected chiefly with three other and more important issues; - Whether the priest should be a sacrificial priest or a preacher. - Whether there was a difference between the priest and the layman. - Whether an additional spiritual gift was given at ordination, which had not been given to everyone at baptism. For the sake of simplicity, Luther's opinion in the issue of ordination anointing will be referred to as homogenous and unchanged. No positive utterance by Luther about this anointing has been found - his criticism was strong and uniform from 1519 to 1545, and the basis for his rejection remained the same. This investigation will focus on the years 1520-23, as this was the years when Luther concentrated on the ordination.

The use of anointing at ordinations was mentioned by Luther as early as in his doctrinal discussion with Johannes Eck in the year 1519, but it was of no prominent importance. Later on, when Luther was dealing with issues concerning the ministry and the mass, his criticism of ordination anointing became stronger and more profound. In order to make a practical survey of the works where this criticism is obvious, they could be divided into two groups. The first group of works concentrates its criticism directly on the anointing, while the second group is the works in which anointing was mentioned and criticized in connection with some other issue. For this investigation, the first group is naturally the most important, but in order to understand the criticism and Luther's views on ordination as a whole, it is necessary to use material from the second group as well.

As far as the first group is concerned, Luther forwarded a

direct criticism of anointing when he wrote of what a Christian is in *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*, 1520, *Vom Missbrauch der Messe*, 1521, *Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe*, 1533 and in *Predigt über den 110 Psalm*, on the 29th of May and 9th of June 1535. Luther's direct criticism of anointing is mainly found in these works.

In the second group, an indirect criticism is often found in works which turned against the contemporary clergy, the sacrificial element in mass and erring Church Order. The following can be named as examples of these works: *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, 1520, *Dass eine christliche Versammlung oder Gemeinde Recht und Macht habe alle Lehre zu urteilen und Lehrer zu berufen, ein- und abzusetzen Grund und Ursach aus der Schrift*, 1523, *De instituendis ministris Ecclesiae*, 1523, and *Exempel einen rechten christlichen Bischof zu weihen*, 1542. As a help to understand the signification of ordination, the imposition of hands, there are some places in Luther's lectures on Genesis in 1535-45.

Luther's criticism of anointing bore the characteristic mark of contemporary polemical expression:

"...der Bapst und die Bisschoff alleyn am eussersten teyll der vier finger mit Öle schmyren. O bossheyt aller bossheyt widder die gottliche Schrift." - *Von Missbrauch der messe*, 1521. <4>

"...einen garstigen Cresem, hinder seinem willen." - *Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe*, 1533. <5>

"..durch seine Bisschoff und Cresem zu einen Teuffel entweyhet were." - *Ibd.* <6>

"...seinem stinkenden, garstigen Cresem." - *Ibd.* <7>

"..ewren leiblichen und zeitlichem Cresem." - *Ibd.* <8>

"...stincke erger denn Teuffels dreck stinkt." - *Ibd.* <9>

"Sic extollunt kressem. Das ist idolatria, Teufel, tod. Non salben, kressem facit tauff vel Evangelium, kasel non facit priester." - *Predigt 20 oktober 1535.* <10>

Contemporary liturgical uses of anointing were sometimes reflected in his attacks on it. It is of interest to focus on what he turned against and how he understood it, since valuable information about the uses of anointing can be obtained through the study of Luther's criticism. The above mentioned quotation from the work *Vom Missbrauch der Messe* (note 4) implies that the bishop only anointed outermost parts of the ordinand's fingers, and this practice is also mentioned in the work of the

Babylonian Captivity of the Church (- Miserum sacerdotem, qui rasura et veste constant. An oleum digitis vestris infusum? <11>). According to Luther, his adversaries believed that the authority of the ministry and the priestly character were conveyed through the oil, among other things. In his work on the misuse of the mass, Luther wrote that those who had had their fingers anointed with oil and wore long garments had been given an indellible mark, but that it was actually the mark of the beast in the Revelation of John, and that these priests could not be called Christians. <12> Here, Luther implied that ordination anointing was considered to convey Character Indelebilis. The understanding of that time that the oil had special powers was made clear when Luther, in 1522, wrote polemically about ordination, saying that the holy oil was so powerful that it took away a man's honour and unmanned him. <13> In his work The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests, 1523, he wrote that no one was considered able to administer and consecrate the Eucharist without consecration and chrism - that was the extent of the importance of chrism. <14> On some occasions, Luther turned against the view that it was the anointing that made a man a priest. In the last mentioned work he says that the priests of the Pope had not been consecrated with the chrism <15> and that it was a perverted consecration when someone was consecrated in order to sacrifice to God and the consecrating bishop presented the chalice to his anointed hands, saying "Receive the authority to consecrate and sacrifice for the living and the dead" <16>. The sermon on Psalm 110 which was held on the 29th of May, 1535, also shows that Luther rejected the concept that anointing made the priest in that he said it was the Holy Spirit who ordained the right priest, and his anointing was far better than that of the Pope. <17> This shows that Luther understood the position of anointing as being so strong that he could write that it was the anointing which destroyed the entire ordination. <18>

In this way, Luther, through his criticism gave a picture of how he understood the practice of ordination anointing and the significance which was ascribed to it.

3.1.1.1. Relations.

3.1.1.1.1. Sacerdos - Minister.

Luther reacted strongly against the existence in the Christian Church of a clergy who, through their ordination and their clothing, regarded themselves as sacrificial priests in the Old Testament sense and who, through daily sacrifices, would appease God. This, according to Luther, was unnecessary since Christ, once and for all, had sacrificed himself. The Christian congregation only needed preachers, ministers of the Word, who in sermons and the administering of the sacraments proclaimed the works of Christ in the congregation. In the New Testament, the ministers of the congregation are not called priests but servants, superintendents and elders <19>. Sacrificial priests were unnecessary after Christ, as our priest, had offered the perfect sacrifice <20>. The office of the sacrificial priest was abolished <21>, and God had given a

new office to the Christian congregation. Only he who preached the Word was a priest in the New Testament sense, and the sacrament of ordination could be nothing but a rite for the election of a preacher for the congregation <22>. If ordination was anything at all, it was only a ceremony in which someone was called to ministry, and the ministry of the church was the ministry of the Word <23>. It was the ministry of the Word which made a priest or a bishop. A deacon or any layman could consecrate blabbing priests, or churches, or confirm children just as well <24>. The anointing belonged to the ordinations of the Old Testament - Christ is the priest of the New Testament, without tonsure or anointing <25>. The consecration of the old covenant was no longer needed, and to consider the mass as a sacrifice, performed by anointed priests, was, in the new covenant, no less than deprediating Christ and his priesthood. <26>

Since the ordination of a priest according to Luther was only a way of electing a preacher and praying for him, considerable importance is attached to the congregation and its choice. Ordination lost the great importance it had had. Every man had equal authority in the congregation and one had to be elected to hold the office on behalf of the rest <27>. In his work To the Christian Nobility (in Germany) Luther wrote that this election could be compared to ten brothers, sons of the king and with equal rights to the inheritance, electing one among themselves to rule over them, each having the same chance to be elected. It could also be compared to a group of Christian layman who had been taken captive. If they had no one among them who was an episcopally ordained priest, then they had the right to elect one and charge him with the responsibility to baptize, celebrate mass, absolve and preach. According to Luther, he would be a priest just as much as if all bishops and popes had ordained him. <28>

In The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, Luther again wrote that those whom the congregation called priests were ministers (servants), and all they did was to speak on the behalf of the congregation. Priesthood was simply a ministry - being a servant. <29> The sacerdotal ministry had, in the new covenant, become a ministry of preaching, dependent on the election and calling from a congregation, in that one was chosen to do what anyone would be able to do <30>. The vocation and the appointing made the minister <31>, and the ordination was not considered anything more than election of someone for this ministry. The apostles had, without chrism but with prayer and the imposition of hands, elected the ministers of the congregation. Later, pious people had added chrism and other elements to this ceremony, and false doctrine and idolatry had grown from this. Because of this, the consecration could not, according to Luther, be called a consecration to the ministry of the Word but to the ministry of the devil, the sacrificial priesthood of Satan <32>. In this criticism of the clergy of his adversaries, Luther turned against a priesthood which, through its sacrifices, obscured the perfect sacrifice of Christ. He criticized anointing indirectly in that he regarded the consecration of priests and the ceremonies of the consecration as having been the tool of the subsequent

abuse.<35>

3.1.1.1.2. Priest - Layman.

In the Christian congregation there was no separate clergy. To differentiate between clergy and laity was, according to Luther, the source of the tyranny which the clergy, trusting in physical anointing, exercised over the laity in that they, because of the anointing, considered themselves above other Christians <34>. All Christians were equal, no distinction was to be made between them - no clergy, no layman, no one was to be discriminated because he had not been anointed <35>. No one could be called a layman - through faith, all shared the priesthood, young and old, woman and men, learned and unlearned - there was to be no difference <36>. Luther criticized his adversaries for the doctrine of Character Indelebilis - that the consecrations impressed an unchanging mark on the priest, which would always separate him from the laity. According to Luther, there was an office in the congregation, the ministry of the Word, and someone had to be elected to hold this office, but it did not change the person himself. If a person who had been elected was removed from his office because of improper use, he would become the same as he was before. He was no more than a holder of an office, and if he was dismissed he became a townsman or a peasant once again <37>. The doctrine of the indelible character was only an invention with little foundation. Where did these ideas come from, and with what authority and for what reasons were they practised? <38> Priesthood, in Luther's opinion, was ministry, and the ministry was the only difference between the office-holder and the others <39>. When a preacher left ministry, he was no longer a minister, a holder of the office <40>. Ordination did not exist in order to separate some Christians from the others, but was a public confirmation of the choice between equals which had been made in the community. The concept that ordination separated the priest from the layman for all time was the source of much evil oppression <41>. This was the reason why Luther could write that those who had been anointed as priests of the Pope and had received an indelible character, had in fact received the mark of the beast of the Revelation of John, and that the Pope's priests were not Christians <42>. Ministry was the ministry of the Word, and when the minister left his office and ceased to preach, he became like anyone else <43>.

The question of how Luther regarded the Popish priests and the priests who remained loyal to papacy must also be studied. As has been mentioned above, Luther did not call them Christians but sacrificial priests of Satan who, through sacrifices, practised idolatry. The anointing had not consecrated them to any office in the Christian congregation <44>, since this office was dependent on the choice and calling of the community who received her pastors and preachers through baptism and the Word of God, elections and appointments <45>. The priests of the Pope could be anointed, vested, and separated from the other Christians <46>, but that was the heresy of the Pope and it did not make them more priests than ordinary people <47>. Through chrism they were ordained to the

devil <48>. Under papacy, no one had been consecrated as preacher, only as sacrificial priests <49>. The consecration of the Pope, with chrism, was as unchristian and false as the practices of Turks and Samaritans <50>, and rather than to go to such priests, the people should put their trust in the right of the head of the family to preach and baptize <51>.

3.1.1.1.3. Baptism - Ordination.

The most interesting relationship to be shown here is the fact that when Luther directly turned against anointing he did so because he regarded it as trespassing upon the consecration which had been given at baptism. This connection between baptism and Luther's criticism of ordination anointing was often stressed by himself, as he founded it on 1 Pet. 2,5, where all Christians are called a holy priesthood (sacerdotium) who are to offer spiritual sacrifices which are pleasing to God. In his correspondence with H. Emser, Luther pointed out that this is one of the few passages in the New Testament in which the priesthood in the Old Testament sense is mentioned (sacerdotium), and in such a way that it is a priesthood shared by all Christians. The Holy Spirit has taught that oil, vestments etc do not make the priest, but baptism brings with it that all Christians are rightful priests through faith, as St. Peter wrote. <52> This relationship was shown by Luther as early as in his work to the Christian Nobles in Germany, which was written in 1520. There he pointed out that all Christians, without discrimination, belonged to the spiritual estate. The fact that bishops or the Pope consecrated, anointed and ordained some did not make them more spiritual or more Christian since, according to 1 Pet. 2 <53> everyone was ordained priest at baptism. Similarly, Luther wrote in The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 1520, that the priests of the Pope considered themselves above others, but that all who had been baptized were equally priests, as this is what is written in 1 Pet. 2 <54>. When Luther preached directly on the Letter of St. Peter in 1523, he said that it is the same thing to be a priest, to be baptized and to be a Christian. The anointed and shaved priests could no more call themselves the only ones that had been baptized and were Christians, than they could call themselves the only priests. <55>

Thus, the foundation of Luther's criticism was the concept that all Christians, through baptism, were consecrated priests. This view is easily found in several of his works. In his sermon on the New Testament in 1520, he said that all Christians, men and women, young and old, masters and servants, learned and unlearned, were priests <56>. In his work to the Christian Nobility in Germany, 1520, he wrote that through baptism everyone was ordained priest, bishop and pope <57>. In The Misuse of the Mass, 1521, it says, on the basis of 1 Pet. 2, that all Christians belong to the anointed priesthood, women and children were also equal priests <58>. He expressed himself somewhat differently in De instituendis ministris Ecclesiae, 1523, saying that one cannot be ordained a priest, but one is born a priest through baptism - not a physical but a spiritual birth <59>. He also wrote there that the ministry of the Word was born from baptism <60>. In his work against the private

mass, 1523, it says that everyone, women and men, young and old, parents and children were sanctified through the blood of Christ and were anointed and ordained priests at baptism, through the Holy Spirit <61>. (Luther retained the anointing in his ritual for baptism of 1523, but in the Tauffbuchlein of 1526 and afterwards it was not included.)

To what were all Christians ordained through baptism? Only to offer spiritual sacrifices to God? It is made clear in Luther's works that he maintained that everyone who was baptized had received the power and authority also to preach the Word and administer the sacraments, but the right to do this was dependant on the choice and calling of the community. In the work to the Christian Nobility it is described how Christian laymen with no priest could elect one among themselves and charge him with the responsibility to baptize, celebrate mass, absolve and preach, and he would be a priest just as much as if all bishops and popes had anointed him - this was the extent of the grace and power of baptism and the spiritual estate <62>. In the same year (1520) it could be read in The Babylonian Captivity of the Church that every person who is a Christian can be as sure of being a priest, as of being a Christian and where the Word and the sacraments are concerned everyone has equal authority (potestatem) <63>. In a sermon on Psalm 110, Luther likened the election of a minister by the congregation to an election of a mayor. The mayor did not become a townsman when he was elected mayor, but was a townsman before, thus taking his townsmanship with him into his new office. It was the same with ministers of the Church, preachers, vicars and spiritual guides. They did not become priests through vocation or office, but were priests already, before they entered the office, through baptism <64>. With this foundation for his argument, Luther strongly objected to the use of anointing at ordinations, since this intimated that some Christians were better than others, more priestly and more anointed as if they had, at their consecration, received something in addition to what everyone had received in baptism <65>. To accept the anointing at ordination was to deny one's spiritual priesthood <66>. The Roman priesthood threatened the gift of baptism, in which everything was given which was necessary for ministry. <67>

Thus, Luther took the view that the consecration of baptism was enough for ministry. All the gifts that were needed were given on that occasion, no completing and no additional spiritual gifts of grace were necessary. The use of anointing at ordination became a denial of the complete anointing of the Christian by the Holy Spirit in baptism. The power and glory of baptism were obscured and weakened by the Pope's chrism. <68>

The observation of the relationship between baptism and the criticism of anointing is new, and it is important in that it on some points confirms and supports the conclusion that it was not intended in the lutheran ordination to give any gifts of grace in addition to those that had been given to everyone at baptism.

3.1.1.2. Lutheran Ordination.

3.1.1.2.1. The Concept of Ordination.

Luther often used the term "ordination" when he described the Roman consecration of priests as well as his own ceremony for the election of preachers. This use of the word could imply that Luther intended his ordination to be of the same nature as that of the Roman Church. It is therefore necessary to clarify the significance to Luther of this concept in order to be able to see if there are any similarities with the understanding of ordination in the Roman sense. As has been mentioned earlier, Luther wrote several times that ordination was the same as a certain form of election of a preacher for the community <69>. If ordination was anything at all, it was the ceremony whereby someone was called to the ministry of the word <70>. It was the calling which made the minister <71>. The community received ministers by baptism and the Word of God, and they were ordained and appointed through election and calling <72>. Luther wrote expressly that, to him, ordination meant the calling to ministry <73>, and this was also equivalent with an appointment to an office, an instalment <74>. To Luther, ordination was not a consecration which changed the ordinand or added something to him, it only gave the authority, the public right, to preach and to administer the sacraments <75>. The ordination of priests was one of the practices of the Church which had been introduced by the Fathers and could be compared with the blessing of houses, clothes and similar objects. It did not involve the conveying of any sacrament, but was solely a preparation for certain tasks <76>. Luther compared it with a wedding or an instalment in a worldly office <77>.

In his lectures on Genesis, 1535-45, Luther said that the ordination to ministry was in the closest possible vicinity to the sacraments... because God, in the ordination as well as in the sacraments, works with a person through an external rite <78>. It is important to understand correctly how Luther intended this. An external, human rite with no special vows belonged to the ordination, and this was a ceremony which had been introduced by the Fathers of the Church. But ordination was more than that - it was also the calling to ministry in the Christian congregation, and this was where God acted, as the ministry in the congregation carries many vows according to the Bible. Ordination could be performed by any layman <79>, but for the sake of order someone should be elected superintendent and elder - not one of the anointed idolaters, however, but one of the honest and pious townsmen with a good reputation <80>. Luther had no need of special bishops to ordain - if episcopal succession had been desirable, it would have been possible to obtain this through the conversion of Prussian bishops <81> - or from Sweden. The signification of ordination to Luther differed fundamentally in many respects from the contemporary Roman view. To Luther, the external rite was purely human and therefore variable, and the ordination itself was the public confirmation of the choice of the congregation. The minister did not receive any gift of grace attached to the ministry apart from what he had received at baptism, and Luther did not recognise any particular succession or any need of bishops for

the sake of the ordination. It is obvious that Luther implied something different from the contemporary Catholic Church with the term "ordination".

3.1.1.2.2. The Imposition of Hands.

The lutheran ordination can be divided into vocation, blessing and sending (vocatio - benedictio - missio) <82>. Perhaps it would also be possible, in the light of Luther's comparison of the ordination with a wedding, to speak of the vows which were given at ordination. It is obvious, however, that Luther did not intend an ordination without a benediction. He distinguished carefully between the commands of Christ and the practices of the apostles. In his letter to king Henry VIII in 1522, he wrote that anyone could see that the conclusion that it was the imposition of hands which made the ordination could not be drawn from the imposition of hands in 1 Tim. 3, since the apostles used to lay their hands on all Christians <83>. For Luther, the laying on of hands was the superior way to bless, and therefore he mentioned that the imposition of hands could be used for blessing in different situations, for example the blessing of bride and bridegroom as well as when someone is appointed to a worldly office <84>. This imposition of hands was not simply a public confirmation - it did actually convey true blessing. Luther stressed this when he expounded and explained 1 Tim. 4,14 in his collection of sermons, 1544, where the apostle wrote about the gift of grace which was given in the power of prophesy during the imposition of the hands of the elders <85>. In his lectures on Genesis, 1535-45, Luther spoke of the significance of the imposition of hands, exemplifying with the patriarch Isaac who blessed by laying his hands on his son <86>, but he did not say that this imposition would convey any additional spiritual gifts necessary for the ministry. The imposition of hands was not an optative act but a real blessing, but it was not the ceremony which distinguished the ordination from other rites. It was the superior benediction, and as a rite it was no adiaphorism. He regarded the ceremony as such <87>, but to him the validity of the ordination did not depend on it. It was a patriarchal form of blessing which could be used on different occasions <88>. The imposition of hands was not intended to convey any spiritual gift or ability apart from what had been given at baptism - had this been the case, Luther would have criticised it in the same way as he did the anointing.

On the other hand it seems far-fetched to claim that Luther could just as well have exchanged the imposition of hands for a handshake as a confirmation of the vocation from the community. To Luther, the imposition of hands was more than a confirmation - it was the superior form of benediction, and benediction was included in Luther's ordination ritual. Here, Luther belonged to the scholastic tradition which regarded the laying on of hands as part of the preparation for the ministry but which did not equate ordination with the laying on of hands. The giving of the ministry was not considered to take place through the imposition of hands.

3.1.1.2.3. The Ritual of Ordination.

It was not until 1535 that first ordinations took place. This was in Wittenberg where Bugenhagen was vicar, but as he was often absent for long periods, Luther was put in charge of many ordinations, and also took part in the drawing up of the rituals <89>.

The Wittenberg ordination can be summarized in the following way. - After an introductory examination *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was sung, with an appertaining prayer. Two lessons, from 1 Tim. 3 and Acts 20 were read, which speak of how the superintendent of a Christian community should live and look after his home and the community of God, and that those who are ordained should watch themselves and look after the flock which the Holy Spirit had entrusted to them. Then followed the ordination vows, in which those who were to be ministers of the congregation promised to live in discipline and respectability and look after their homes. After this, during the imposition of hands, the Lord's Prayer was said, followed by a prayer which in it included the only interpretation in the ordinal of what was taken place. Here it is reproduced in its entirety:

Merciful God, heavenly Father, thou hast said to us through the mouth of thy dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ: "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into his harvest" (Matt. 9:37-38). Upon this thy divine command, we pray heartily that thou wouldest grant thy Holy Spirit richly to these thy servants, to us, and to all those who are called to serve thy Word so that the company of us who publish the good tidings may be great, and that we may stand faithful and firm against the devil, the world, and the flesh, to the end that thy name may be hallowed, thy kingdom grow, and thy will be done. Be also pleased at length to check and stop the detestable abomination of the Pope, Mohammed, and other sects which blaspheme thy name, hinder thy kingdom, and oppose thy will. Graciously hear this our prayer, since thou hast so commanded, taught, and promised, even as we believe and trust through thy dear Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

The ordination was ended with an exhortation (1 Pet. 5) to the ordinands to go and serve the flock of Christ which had been entrusted to them not by force but of their own free will. After the benediction, "Nun bitten wir den Heilig Geist" was sung. The ordination took place within an ordinary service, which continued after this.

The study of Luther-Bugenhagen's ordinal supports the

claim of this investigation that Luther did not wish to add anything to the consecration of the baptism. The lessons were exhortative, and 1 Pet. 2,5 about the common priesthood and 1 Tim. 1,14 about the gift of grace of the imposition of hands were not included. At the imposition of hands the Lord's Prayer was said, and this clearly stressed the benedictional character of the rite. The following, significant prayer included the important words "to these thy servants, to us, and to all those who are called to serve the Word", thus not only intending the ordinands. Laymen, such as Melancton, took part in the Wittenberg ordinations, and those words applied to the entire Christian community who needed the power of the Holy Spirit to resist the devil, the world, the flesh, the Pope, Mohammed and other sects. After this simple ceremony the ordinands were sent out to be shepherds of the flock of Christ. This ordinal was, in structure and contents, very different from what the contemporary Roman Church called ordination.<90>

3.1.2. Lines of Development.

3.1.2.1. Bugenhagen.

When the above mentioned ordinal had been brought into practice in Wittenberg in the year 1535, it soon became a model for other Lutheran Churches, and the prayer Merciful God... is found in several German agendas of that year and later.

There was not, however, complete agreement between Bugenhagen the vicar in Wittenberg, and Luther concerning the formulating of the ordination. A sermon held by Bugenhagen on the 23rd of April 1525, shows that he was critical towards the idea of making the confirmation of the calling to be a preacher into a service with the imposition of hands <1>. Bugenhagen was of the opinion that he who had been chosen by the congregation and accepted was ordained simply through that. That the election and acceptance of the preacher by the congregation was ordination enough for Bugenhagen. This was made evident when he formulated the Church Order of Braunschweig in 1528 and did not include a confirmation of the vocation to be a minister of the Word in the form of a service <2>. This was similarly expressed in the Church Order of Hamburg, 1529, which in turn closely resembled that of Lubeck, 1531. In neither of these was a special ordination service considered necessary, and the ordination coincided with the acceptance of the minister by the congregation in an act of instalment <3>. These ordinals included - after an introductory exhortation with words from the Bible, followed by *Veni Sancte Spiritus* - the direction that all the ministers should lay their hands on the head of him who was to be received as the new minister. The rubric spoke of how a minister of the Word was to be received into the Church. During the imposition of hands, a special prayer about the tasks of the minister in the congregation was said <4>, after which "Nu bidde wi den hilligen geest" was sung. Then the service, which had been interrupted after the epistle by the instalment, continued. This ordinal also mentioned that the doctrine of *Character Indelebilis* was pure invention, and that anointing was of no aid to the ministry <5>. Bugenhagen was

also the author of the Church Order of Pomerania, 1535, and it also contained the imposition of hands and prayer with a reference to the Lübeck-order for the exact wording. The Pomeranian order had the addition that not only the ministers but also the members of the congregation should be given the opportunity to take part in the imposition of hands <6>. From the year 1569, however, Pomerania reverted to imposition only by the superintendent and other pastors, and Bugenhagen's prayer of ordination was replaced by the Lord's prayer, followed by Luther's "Merciful God..." <7>. Because of the obvious differences between Bugenhagen's orders and the ordinal which was used in Wittenberg in 1535, the conclusion can be drawn that Luther's influence on the Wittenberg ordinal was great. Some parts of the ritual, for example the above mentioned prayer, are directly ascribed to Luther <8>.

Bugenhagen was not alone in his resistance to a special ordinal - ordination was considered unnecessary in some places in Bavaria too. In 1538 the visitorator Schnabel of Kulmbach wrote a letter to Wittenberg asking if he could introduce a special ordination service, and he received the reply that this had been practised for three years in Wittenberg. In Ansbach the need for this service was not recognized until 1556. <9>

The uncertainty of the position of the ordination as a service culminated in the so-called Frederan ordination conflict of 1547 and 1548. In the year 1547, Freder was elected superintendent by the council in Stralsund and was installed without ordination. He declared the imposition of hands as an adiaphorism, an old custom but not necessary for the ministry of the Word. Many turned against this, and the leading men in Wittenberg were consulted. <10> Bugenhagen and Melancton replied from Wittenberg on the 25th of February 1551, that the custom of the imposition of hands at ordination was a permissible, apostolic practice, but despite this, the rite could be changed <11>. In this letter, anointing as an Old Testament practice was also dealt with, but it was not put in relation to baptism or the consecration of baptism as Luther had done. The debate of that time did not put ordination in connection with baptism but with the calling of the congregation, which was by many considered conclusive.

3.1.2.2. Melancton.

The opinion of the diplomatically subtle Melancton in the questions of ordination is difficult to determine. The above mentioned letter to the academy of Pomerania in 1551 is one example of the writings of Melancton, in which he, together with Bugenhagen stressed that the imposition of hands was an old, apostolic practice which blessed the ministry <12>, but on the other hand he never stated that it was not an adiaphorism. In the apology to the Augustan Confession Melancton wrote of ministry as decreed by God, and that if ordination was understood as an ordination to the ministry of the Word, the imposition of hands could well be called a sacrament <13>. With Bucer in Liber Ratisbonensis, 1541, concerning the sacrament of ordination and which the true elements of this sacrament were, he wrote that he considered the bishop's imposition of hands as one of these <14>. On the basis of these two records, it can

easily be assumed that Melanchton held a distinctly romanizing view on the ordination as a service where the spiritual gift and authority were presented through prayer and the imposition of hands. This could have been a source of conflict with both Bugenhagen and Luther, but that does not seem to have been the case. Melanchton's subtlety often made what he wrote very much adjusted to the situation. Several times he turned against ordination anointing <15>, but seems to have, on one occasion for the sake of peace, accepted the use of oil <16>. His criticism of anointing was concerned with the pretence of the magical way in which it was said to convey a divine gift and grace at ordination <17>. When he formulated ordinals, the stress was laid on doctrinal examination and the confirmation of the vocation from the congregation <18>. The imposition of hands was considered a sign of benediction (*signum benedictionis*) and as an outward sign of the confirmation <19>. The ordination was never an isolated service, but was regarded in its greater congregational context <20>. When he mentioned the imposition of hands as a sacrament, it is necessary for the understanding of this to know that in Loci 1535 he also counted prayer, tribulations and the giving of alms as sacraments <21>. The giving of a special gift of ministry through the imposition of hands was not claimed by Melanchton. Against this, he wrote in *Judicium de impostione manuum*, 1543, that he who had the right vocation could preach the Word and administer the sacraments without having received the imposition of hands <22>.

It is possible to discern a certain agreement between Bugenhagen and Melanchton concerning the practical aspects of ordination, and it is important to note that neither of them connected ordination and baptism in the way Luther did. This had the result that their criticism of ordination anointing was formulated as a criticism of the concept that anointing was active in itself and conveyed spiritual power. The understanding that the ordination as a special service did not convey any additional gift of grace to the ordinand implied that they did not maintain the imposition of hands as a demand.

3.1.2.3. Chemnitz.

After the Council of Trent, Martin Chemnitz issued the first edition in 1565 of his account of the many decisions of the council. Among other questions, Chemnitz studied was the significance of ordination. Despite the fact that the resolutions taken at Trent were sharply formulated against the reformers, neither the Lutheran polemics nor the Philippistic will to compromise dominated Chemnitz' work, the contents of which were analyzing and matter-of-fact. When Chemnitz expounded the meaning of ordination, ordination to him was regarded as a divine service. The whole explanation of what ordination really was (against the Council of Trent) was centered on the imposition of hands, which Chemnitz brought back to both the Old and the New Testament. The narrative in Deuteronomy about Moses laying his hands on Joshua, his successor (*successoris sui*) was referred to as an example, and the imposition was regarded as a vocation to devote one's life to God's service and cult (*devoveri ad ministerium et cultum Dei*), as the sacrificial animals, through the imposition of

hands, were sanctified to God. Such imposition was called the form and rule which the Holy Spirit had prescribed (*formam et regulam, a Spiritu Sancto praescriptam*). Chemnitz wrote about the special grace and holy blessing of that imposition (*paecularis gratia et benedictio divina*). Several times, he returned to 1 Tim. 4,14 where the apostle wrote about the gift of grace which was given by the power of prophet's words during the laying on of hands of the elders. Chemnitz designated this as a promise which belonged to the ordination. Unlike Luther, who wrote about the vows of ministry, Chemnitz claimed that the ordination brought with it promises from the Scripture. With reference to Acts 13, which is about the separation of Saul and Barnabas with prayer and imposition of hands, Chemnitz wrote about the gift which was given through that imposition - as it was promised. <23> After this, Chemnitz reminded his readers of the words in the apology which speak of the possibility to regard the imposition of hands as a sacrament.

One of the resolutions of the Council of Trent about the ordination concerned anointing. In canon 5, an anathema was pronounced over those who rejected the use of anointing at ordination. Chemnitz studied this decision carefully, and wrote that in this canon it was obvious that it was most of all the anointing which the papists were fighting for when they discussed ordination <24>. This item of Chemnitz is worth noting. He understood the resolution of the council about ordination as a defence for anointing - above all they were fighting for the anointing (*praecipue...pugnant*). After this, Chemnitz went through the Fathers of the Church and with the aid of this he showed that the Early Church did not know anything about this practice. He was also aware that the Greek Church never had practiced this anointing. The arguments which were forwarded against ordination anointing was that it had not been commended by Christ and the apostles and that it was not found with the Fathers. It belonged in the Old Testament levite service. The importance which the papists gave the anointing could, according to Chemnitz, be understood by mode of procedure at the consecration of chrism. Consequently Chemnitz concluded by saying that anointing should not only be rejected but also be considered harmful. <25> The criticism of ordination anointing which is found in Chemnitz' investigation of the resolutions of the Council of Trent is different from that which was forwarded by Luther. The Fathers of the Church and the early traditions of the Church held a stronger position for Chemnitz, and this was clearly manifested in his views on ordination which, to him, was a divine service with prayer and the imposition of hands. It is not surprising to find that ordination was called consecration by one of Chemnitz' followers, as J. Gerhard wrote later <26>.

3.1.2.4. Bucer.

Unlike Luther, Martin Bucer took the view that ordination as a divine service was commended in the Bible <27>. When the Church in Hessen received a new Church Order, with Bucer as its author, this Order came to hold a special position among the German Churches <28>. As for Chemnitz, it was the imposition of

hands which was the central point for Bucer. Later, in the work Von der waren Seelsorge, 1538, he could write, as an expounding of 1 Tim. 4,14, that with the imposition of hands by the elders the Holy Spirit was given to the Church ministry as a gift <29>. Bucer connected the imposition of hands directly with the giving of and instalment in the ministry <30>. In the work Bericht auss der heyligen Geschrift, 1534, Bucer designated the laying on of hands as a sign of the giving of the Holy Spirit and the spiritual office, and also spoke of how the Lord after his resurrection gave the Holy Spirit to the disciples, John 20,22. <31>

This last passage from the Bible is the most striking element in the Hessian Church Order of 1526 and in the English protestant ordinals of 1550 and 1552. These formulations were influenced by, among others, Bucer. These ordinals not only include a prayer about the Holy Spirit, but a direct summons of the Holy Spirit took place. It is written in the Hessian ordinal that to every one whom the bishop laid his hands on he said "Receive the Holy Spirit, etc" and also that God had given his Spirit in order to bring about a strong faith in the minister's heart and to make him worthy of the ministry to which he had been called <32>. In the following prayer it was said that the Spirit had been infused through the imposition of hands <33>. It is evident that Bucer meant that a spiritual gift which was needed for the practicing of the ministry was given at an ordination with the imposition of hands. This was impressed on the ordinals of Hesse and England at the time of the reformation.

Bucer's views on anointing were reflected in 1551 in Censura, when he wrote about its use at baptism that instead of promoting piety it contributed to and increased superstition <34>. Bucer lacked most of Luther's theological foundation for criticism of anointing, and had to limit his arguments to the stating that anointing as an act could be misunderstood and result in superstition. Here, his criticism was only concerned with the liturgical act.

3.1.3. Sweden.

In Sweden, the two brothers Olavus and Laurentius Petri from Örebro came to influence the reformational development. They both studied theology in Germany, and brought with them to their home country the reformational ideas about ordination and ministry which, among other things, resulted in a powerful rejection of ordination anointing. The King Gustaf I was, however, worried about his position which was not recognized by all, and consequently the reformation was in some respects brought about with caution and with particular consideration for external customs.

3.1.3.1. Olavus Petri.

When Olavus Petri returned to Sweden in 1519 from his studies with Luther in Wittenberg <35>, his view on the ministry was different from the traditional one - something

which could soon be seen in his writings. In the year 1523, the official correspondence of the Crown with the Vatican ceased <36>, and in the following year Olavus Petri was called from Strängnäs to Stockholm by the King. A letter of the 19th of September 1526 from Pope Clement VII to the Bishops of Linköping and Västerås is of interest. There the Pope complained over the state of things that some priests and monks in Sweden had forgotten their duties and their estate to the extent that they were officially married and administered baptism without oil <37>. In the light of the fact that the deacon Olavus Petri had entered into matrimony in February 1525 in Stockholm, there is reason to assume that he had by that time began to put the ideas of the reformation into practice.

At the Diet of Västerås in June 1527, where King Gustaf, threatening to abdicate, managed to break the economic and political power of the bishops for the benefit of the Crown, neither the resolution nor the ordinance mentioned anything about changes in the ceremonies. Instead, it was ensured in the letter of the Council of the realm to the King's representatives on the 27th of June 1527 that no new faith had been brought into the country <38>. Therefore it is sensational that Gustaf I could write on the 7th of November of the same year to the electus in Strängnäs:

Furthermore as You can well consider that the peasants hardly any longer wish to be satisfied with not having anointed bishops. However, this same anointing is truly of little necessity.<39>

Thus, the King personally gave the impression of not regarding anointing as necessary, and it seems as though the reformational plane had reached further in the highest circles than it was desirable for the people to know. An unchanged medieval tradition was employed in the great majority of the churches in the country.

In August 1528, Olavus Petri published a work, "A little Book on the Sacraments", in which he, for the first time, seriously turned against among other things the practice of anointing. It was a revised and rearranged translation of Ansbacher Ratslag 1524 which had Luther's complete approval. <40>

Concerning the practice of anointing at baptism, Olavus Petri wrote that those who were baptized were anointed with chrism although it was unnecessary since Christ had never said anything about it. Faith was put in that anointing and people genuflected when the chrism was brought forward, which they should not have done had they not believed that it contained holiness and power <41>. Olavus Petri was particularly sharp against the veneration for the chrism, and called it sheer idolatry. About the ordination of priests he wrote that it cannot be shown by the Scripture that priests should be consecrated or anointed, since all Christians had been anointed by the Holy Spirit - the consecration was an invention of the Roman Church <42>.

Olavus Petri rejected the concept that chrism in itself had a particular power when he criticized the confirmation. He claimed that it was clearly made up by people that anointing should bring with it any special spiritual power. <43>

In December 1528, Olavus Petri issued another publication, "About the Word of God and the Commandments and Statutes of Man", in which he again called anointing a human invention.

At the Church Synod in Örebro in February 1529 anointing was one of the issues. There it was established as a reformational fundamental principle that oiling or anointing with chrism had no power in itself but was only an external sign of the inner anointing which took place through the Holy Spirit <44>. At this synod anointing was given an evangelical interpretation but was not abolished. It was expressly stated that anointing, the consecration of churches and the Easter ceremonies were to be retained <45>. Some months after the synod Olavus Petri's first Church manual in Swedish appeared, and it contained rituals for Baptism, Marriage, visits to the sick, Burial and exhortations to prisoners sentenced to death. This manual was issued unchanged in 1529, 1533 and 1537 in the name of Olavus Petri. Anointing occurred as a command in the ritual for baptism and facultatively in the order for visits to the sick. There were no directions for the episcopal acts, and therefore Olavus Petri's manual can be said to constitute a continuation of the medieval manual tradition.

Any directions for the episcopal acts of this time have not been found, and because of this it is probable that the old pontificals came into use. Magnus Sommer, bishop of Strängnäs, asked for oil for the service on Holy Thursday in a letter written in October 1535 to Sven Jacobi in Skara <46>, and in the beginning of 1537 the reformers complained over Sven Jacobi who still kept to many old ceremonies <47>. The directions in Olavus Petri's manuals until and including the year 1537 would indicate that chrism was still used, consecrated and available.

As regards ordination anointing it was natural that the old bishops Sven Jacobi, Johannes Magni and Magnus Sommar did not abandon this practice at the ordinations of priests. It is more difficult to form an opinion of the new and different conditions of those ordinations of bishops where the advocates of the reformation participated. As will be shown later (note 119, chapt.3.2.), the information in the letter of John III to L.P.Gothus in 1575 can show that anointing was at least used at the ordinations of bishops in 1531, 1532 and 1536, but several scholars disagree on this point <48>. Since source material is lacking, nothing can be said with certainty about the time of the abandoning of the ordination anointings, but it must be considered reasonable to assume that Laurentius Petri attempted to hasten this development when he had become archbishop in 1531. Bishop Juusten wrote in the Finnish Chronicle of bishops that oil and chrism definitely disappeared from practice about 1540 <49>, and this is still the general understanding.

3.1.3.2. Laurentius Petri.

When Georg Norman wrote *Explicatio articulorum fidei* in the year 1540 <50> for the aid of the ministers in waiting for a complete Church Order, he also touched on the anointings and strongly rejected them. In this context he wrote that in this question others could mean whatever they liked, and this leads a scholar to suspect that Norman counted Archbishop Laurentius Petri among these "others" <51>. It is not improbable that the Archbishop was among those who wanted to take it slowly with the abolition of the anointings. He had participated in the bringing about of the first cautious changes during the introductory stage of the Swedish reformation, and possibly he wished to avoid the use of radical methods on this occasion too. In several works, however, he showed that his basic attitude was the same as that of the other reformators.

Georg Norman was a nobleman from Pomerania where the reformation had been roughly forced through by way of princely intervention <52>. He came from Germany in 1539 at the recommendation of Melancthon to help King Gustaf I in ecclesiastical questions. From Norman's point of view there was no reason to avoid confrontations and radical steps in Sweden. The King's relations with the Swedish reformers deteriorated, and on the 8th of December 1539 Norman was appointed Ordinary and superattendent with the authority of the king over bishops, ministers and ecclesiastical matters <53>. This appointment signalled the beginning of a change in the Swedish reformatory history, and the use of anointing came to its conclusion. It seems clear that Georg Norman in collaboration with the King took the decisive resolutions in order to abolish anointing in Sweden <54>. Norman had great influence at the Church Synod in Upsala in 1539 and particularly at the Diet in Örebro 1539-40. At the latter it was resolved that all idolatrous, superstitious and papist unchristian ceremonies should be abolished <55>.

In *Explicatio* written by Norman he designated anointing as the greatest idolatry and maintained that this "stinking" anointing should disappear entirely from the Church. The minister should with mild words attempt to exterminate the understanding that anointing involved advantages for the eternal life. <56>

Norman did, however, aim further than the abolishing of anointing. He wished, together with the King, a reorganization of the entire Church and a removal of the episcopal office <57>. New diocese management were to be elected, consisting of one conservator (laymen) and two seniors (ministers) to lead the work of the diocese. The latter should, at the request of the conservator, ordain ministers. A Senior Instruction was issued on the 9th of April 1540, but it met with such resistance that it seems to have been abandoned during 1541. <58>

The two last remaining Catholic bishops, Johannes Magni of Linköping and Sven Jacobi of Skara were removed in 1540 and the

cathedral chapters began to be wound up <59>. In Articuli ordinantiae, Articulus XVII, De unctione the anointings were transferred to the past, and in Norman's Swedish manual of 1541 nothing remained of the anointings at baptism and visits to the sick <60>.

After the upheavels during the first years of the 1540's, Gustaf I did not appoint any bishops and also ceased to speak about them. They were gradually replaced by Ordinaries and superintendents. There was no special ritual for the ordination of Ordinaries but in at least one case the order of the ordination of bishops seems to have been employed for elected Ordinaries. This was at the ordination of Agricola and Juusten in 1554. On his homecoming to his new diocesan city - Viborg - Agricola celebrated a pontifical high mass in episcopal vestments, and showed by this that he considered himself a bishop in the old sense after this ordination. <61>

During Norman's most active years the Archbishop was not prominent, but in the long run it was still Laurentius Petri who influenced the ecclesiastical developments the most during the fortytwo years that he was archbishop. In 1542 he wrote Dialogus, which does not seem to have been published until 1587. This work was composed as a conversation between two men, one of whom (Simon) advocated the old faith while the other (Petrus) maintained the ideas of the reformers. In the conversation, Peter pointed to 1 Pet. 2 in order to show that the Bible claimed that all Christians were sacrificial priests <62>. The only difference which could be found between minister and layman was that the minister was an evident and common minister (servant) in the congregation <63>. Then Peter went on to show that in christianity priesthood did not depend on physical lineage and was consequently not dependent on bodily anointing or consecration but on all that was spiritual. All who were born anew through faith and were the children of God could be regarded as priests <64>. Simon posed as a counter-question why priests were anointed with oil if they were not to be sacrificial priests. Simon replied that strictly speaking he was the one to ask this, since the Canon Prayer in the mass itself expressed that it was not the priest alone but all Christians who performed the sacrifice. As for anointing, it could not be shown from the Scripture that it was needful. Christ did not anoint the apostles, nor did the apostles anoint any priest or commanded that it should be done. Also, it could not be said when the use of this anointing was brought into practice. <65>

In the Proposal for Church Orders, 1561, and in the Church Order of 1571 Laurentius Petri rejected a reintroduction of the discarded use of ordination anointing. It was not necessary at the ordination of ministers to use oil or other popish customs. <66>

In 1566 Laurentius Petri wrote Om Kyrkio Stadgar och Ceremonier, which was not printed until 1587. There he designated it as idolatry what the papists had invented, that one should genuflect and bow to oil and chrism as to God himself. <67>

When the Swedish Queen's chaplain, Johan Herbst, wrote an attack on the Swedish ministry which he rejected, and claimed that true priests only existed in the Catholic Church, Laurentius Petri replied in 1573 with *Refutatio, or Probatio veri et falsi sacerdotii* which was read to the Swedish ministers but was not printed until 1588 <68>. Herbst had alleged that a Catholic ordination and apostolic succession were required in order to make a valid priest, and without this no true masses could be considered to exist in the Swedish parishes. In *Refutatio*, Laurentius Petri particularly turned against the view that the consecration and anointing of the Catholic priest should place him in a unique position. No specially anointed or shaved priests were needed to celebrate mass as the Catholic theologians claimed. Any Christian could perform the consecration, since every Christian was included in the priesthood and was called anointed through baptism. <69> Laurentius Petri accused Herbst and his followers that the sacrament of the Eucharist was consecrated by the power of shaving and anointing, through *Character Indelebilis* was imagined to be impressed on the ordinands <70>. Against this Laurentius claimed, linking his argument to 1 Pet. 2, that Christ has made all who confess their sins into kings and priests for God his Father - a true and eternal priesthood, not perishable and invented like that of the papists <71>. Laurentius actually went so far in this condemnation of this anointing that he was of the opinion that that which Herbst called holy should be designated as a reprehensible idol and be called infamous <72>. After this, Laurentius gave as an example of idolatry a description of how the bishop after the consecration of the oil laid prostrate on his knees and saluted it three times with the words: Hail, holy oil <73>. The only and true priesthood of the new covenant had been extended to all who were faithful to Christ, consecrated and anointed, not by papist idol-bishops but by the Word of God which is living and lasts for ever and through anointing of the Holy Spirit, which was given permanently through the baptism of water to offer spiritual sacrifices. <74>

Later in the same year as Laurentius Petri wrote *Refutatio*, the old archbishop passed away. In 1575 the use of ordination anointing was reintroduced in Sweden. During the liturgical strife, the son-in-law of Laurentius Petri, Abraham Angermannus from Wittenberg issued several of Laurentius' works in 1587 and 1588, among them *Refutatio*. When Angermannus returned to Sweden after the death of John III and was ordained bishop, this took place without anointing, mitre or crozier.

It must be observed here that for various reasons Laurentius Petri's work *Refutatio* or *Probatio veri et falsi sacerdotii* cannot with certainty be ascribed to him. As early as in 1738 Benzelius assumes that this work could mostly be put down to Abraham Angermannus who issued it in Wittenberg in 1588 as a contribution about the Swedish liturgical conflict. It must be considered reasonable to assume that Angermannus at least made additions to the work of Laurentius Petri in order to make it fit with his own purposes which, among other things, opposed the ordinal of King John III. Therefore it is striking

that the work is full of quotations from Luther which conveniently turn against the use of ordination anointing even though this anointing had been abolished for a long time when Laurentius Petri was supposed to have written this work.<75>.

3.1.4. England.

In England during the reign of King Henry VIII there were no changes in the forms of ordination. The old books were used in the usual manner. The 1520's and 30's were mainly characterized by the King's marital (and extra-marital) difficulties. This also dominated the ecclesiastical debate, where the issues of divorce and the King's relation of obedience to the Pope were discussed in an endless number of letters and pamphlets. <76> Finally the king's declaration of his own sovereignty and his break with Rome came. The bull of Pope Paul III of the 30th of August 1535 which excommunicated Henry VIII <77> was the tragic confirmation of a conflict between the conception of the Catholic faith about marriage and the king's person. This conflict now struck an entire country and the Church of which the King had made himself the head.

When Henry VIII died in January 1547, and since his successor Edward VI was only nine years of age, the country was ruled by a council of sixteen men. The leadership fell to Edward's uncle, the Earl of Hertford Edward Seymour who obtained the title Protector. Only three church men were included in the council, among them Archbishop Cranmer who was by far the most prominent. <78> It was natural that his leading position in the Church of England was now established. During this time the ordination anointings were abolished through two new ordinals which were published in 1550 and 1552.

3.1.4.1. Henry VIII.

On the 15th of September 1521 - fourteen years before the break with Rome - Pope Leo X received a work of which Henry VIII was the author. He had written this - *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* - in reply to Luther's *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and there Henry had defended papacy and the Catholic faith in so unyielding and orthodox a manner that in October of the same year he was given the title *Defendor of the Faith* by the Pope. <79> The book was great success and was issued in several editions and was later refuted by Luther himself. Henry also touched on the ministry, making quite clear that the priesthood of the Church was derived from the sacrificial priesthood which is found in the old covenant. God had said that Aaron and his sons should be anointed to exercise the office of priesthood, and this exterior anointing spoke of the grace which was infused and the interior sanctification which also took place through Christ. Even if one did not admit that grace was conferred to the priests of the old covenant, there was no reason to deny that grace was infused into the priests of the Gospel, since Christ had come with the fullness of grace. <80>

In the 1520's translations of the works of the German

reformers (mainly Luther's) found their way into England. William Tyndale left England for Germany in 1524 <81>, where he, in Wittenberg, translated the New Testament from the original language into English <82>. In December 1527 the first edition of "The Obedience of a Christen man" was probably published. At roughly the same time Tyndale moved from Worms to Marburg in Hesse <83>. This work was issued in several editions and is to have, in a roundabout way through Anne Boleyn, a cathedral dean and a Cardinal reached the king who is said to have read it and approved of Tyndale's publication <84>. In the Lutheran spirit it thoroughly dealt with the matter that it was more important for a Christian to obey the Scripture and the King than to obey the Pope. Tyndale wrote that through daily experience it could be seen that he who did not fear God or his Word and did not care about father, mother, master or Christ and who rebelled against the demands of God, revolted against kings and their servants, he did not even once dare to bear hands on one of those who was anointed by the Pope <85>. Tyndale further noted that Christ was neither shaved (on his head) nor anointed, and that the true anointing should be interior. He gave information about the reformational situation in Germany in that he wrote that the external use of oil was not in existence among the ministers there <86>.

In 1528 Thomas More was given the task of studying the writings of the reformers and to refute them. In reply to Tyndale's attack on the papacy he wrote "Dialogue" which was published in 1529. In Tyndale's reply to Thomas More which was written in 1530 and issued in 1531 <87>, questions about the ministry were raised. In between these publications, More had been raised to the position of Lord High Chancellor of England. In his "Dialogue" he claimed that the name of priest had always signified an anointed person, and Tyndale replied that anointing with oil and shaving (tonsuring) had nothing to do with priesthood. Anointing was only a ceremony borrowed from the Jews and carried no virtue in itself. <88> The offices of the apostle, the bishop, the priest, the deacon and the widow were of God. Anointing was a human tradition <89>.

In July 1536 ten articles were presented to the Episcopal Council, and they were debated and signed by the bishops. These articles showed traces of Lutheran influence and only admitted three sacraments - Baptism, the Eucharist and Penance. <90> As they met with resistance from those who adhered to the old faith, the King summoned a new episcopal council in 1537 in order to revise the articles. Later in the same year The Bishop's book was issued under the title "The Institution of a Christian Man" <91>. There, such ceremonies which were used in connection with ordination were also dealt with. The bishops took the view that the Fathers of the Church had taken over ceremonies such as tonsuring and anointing from the Jews in order to embellish and ornament the Church of Christ even though there was not mentioned any ceremony other than prayer and the imposition of the bishop's hands in the New Testament <92>. The bishops themselves were the authors of The Bishop's book but it was offered to the King for approbation. In June 1540 steps were taken to give more authority to these articles. To a commission of eight bishops and seventeen theologians the

King sent a list of seventeen questions on the sacraments, which each one of them was to answer in writing <93>. Regarding ministry, most of the bishops agreed that in normal circumstances ordination took place through the imposition of the bishop's hands, but there was uncertainty as to what was to be done in an emergency or if the King's command had not been given. To the question whether the New Testament demanded consecration of bishops and priests, or if only appointment was needed some answered that consecration is not mentioned in the Bible, only prayer and the laying on of hands. One of the bishops went so far as to claim that it was enough with appointment only. Archbishop Cranmer went the furthest and wrote that election and appointment was sufficient, and that history bore witness that in times of emergency Christian princes and laymen could appoint priests (this replies to the questions 12, 13 and 14). Bishop Heath of Rochester specially pointed out that the old authors spoke of anointing (his answer to question 12). The Archbishop of York was the one who stressed most strongly in his replies that he wished to adhere to the old faith. In his answer to question 12 on whether the New Testament demanded consecration he wrote that in the Old Testament there existed both visible and invisible sanctification, and therefore it was not sufficient with only an appointment in the New Testament either.<94>

A royal commission presented a commentary in 1540 to the ceremonies used at that time. This work was called "Rationale" and did not become published until the beginning of the 18th century <95>. Influences from many directions can be traced in this "Rationale", and possibly it is the emphasis on the sacrament of mass and the real presence which make many scholars reluctant to believe that Archbishop Cranmer can have approved it and wished to have the work in print <96>. The composition of this "Rationale" can be regarded as part of the work which the King wished to have done as a preparation for the so-called "King's book", his revision of the Bishop's book. The seventh rubric in Rationale deals with oil and chrism and confirmed the usual practice by referring to anointing being used at all consecrations in the old law. <97>

The King's adaption of the Bishop's book resulted in the King's book in 1543. The work was done by a committee chosen by the Episcopal Council and a preface was added by King Henry <98>. In the chapter on the ministry it was emphasized that ministry was conferred through the imposition of the bishop's hands on the basis of apostolic succession. Possibly, it may be noted that King's book meant that the ministry was given by God to the Christians, through consecration and the imposition of the bishop's hands on them, and this sacrament was conveyed and given by the apostles <99>. As was indicated earlier by the bishops' replies to the King's questions in 1540, several of the bishops had rejected consecration but accepted the imposition of hands. It is difficult to specify exactly what importance the bishops gave to the term "consecration", but several of them claimed not to find it in the New Testament. Here, the expression recurred in King's book in a context which implies that consecration was considered compatible with the New Testament. In the question of the ministry, the King's

book was most elaborate on the point that the ministry should be under the influence of the King and society, and not under the Pope. In many respects the chapter on ministry agreed with the earlier Bishop's book. <100>

When Henry VIII passed away in January 1547 there were still no changes in the ordinals even though several of the bishops, particularly Cranmer himself, had forwarded opinions on the ministry and its administration which were closer to the Lutheran point of views than to the traditional ones. Officially the English Church still adhered to the old orders despite the fact that it was separated from Rome. The ministers who were ordained during the reign of Henry VIII were anointed as sacrificial priests in the following of Aaron in the way prescribed by the medieval ordinals. But the ground had been prepared for changes, and it was not to be long before it was made manifest in the ordination rituals that a new view on the priesthood was breaking through.

3.1.4.2. Cranmer.

For the summer of 1547, a general ecclesiastical visitation was anticipated, but it was delayed until early autumn. A preparatory material was issued in August, containing among other things a collection of sermons to be read with the authority of the King, one for each Sunday, in the parish churches. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and one of the Anglo-Catholic leaders wrote to the Council on the 23rd and the 30th of August and protested. "Are we", he wrote, "suddenly altered to believe now the contrary we believed in our sovereign lord's time?", and further, "such laudable ceremonies <to be> despised as our late sovereign lord in his time maintained". It should be recalled that anointing was one of the ceremonies which had been called "laudable" in the Rationale of 1540. Bishop Gardiner was summoned to Court on the 25th of September 1547 and was subsequently imprisoned. <101> During the reign of Edward VI six of the bishops were deposed because of their loyalty to the old faith and had to spend longer or shorter periods in prison <102>. The six years in which Edward was on the throne involved drastical changes of power in the life of the Church, with the result that at the end of this period nearly all of the bishops can be said to be men of the reformation. <103>

Changes now took place rapidly. The compulsory celibacy for priests was removed. New rituals for the mass were introduced, and the cup was given to laymen as well. The service was conducted in English and the horary prayers were revised. Cranmer also planned new ordinals for the ordinations of deacons, ministers and bishops. In September 1548 Cranmer ordained Robert Ferrar bishop. On the foundation of Cranmer's Register some scholars suspect that Cranmer used a reformed order for the first time on this occasion, an order which was different from Sarum on important points. The Register says that Ferrar was consecrated and blessed through the bishop's imposition of hands, and nothing is mentioned about anointing or the presenting of the episcopal insignia. In the light of the views of both Cranmer and Ferrar on these ceremonies, it is

not improbable that they made a change in the old order here. It is clear that during the reign of Queen Mary, Ferrar was only regarded as a priest <104>. In a letter dating from 1548 in which Cranmer dealt with such traditions which are not found in the Bible but which Christ and the apostles were said to have taught, he began his recounting of these traditions by writing about anointing (holy cream), and claimed that all of these unwritten verties that the Scripture should be the only guiding norm <105>. It is also possible that Cranmer employed a reformed ritual at the end of the year 1549 or in January 1550 <106>.

On the 31st of January 1550 it was resolved in Parliament that new ordinals were to be formulated. Six of the bishops voted for the resolution and five against it <107>. On the 2nd of February twelve people were elected by the Council to draw up the new rituals, but as early as on the 8th of the same month Bishop Heath, one of the members of this committee was in conflict with the Council. He was summoned before the Council to give his consent to the proposals of the other members of the committee, but as he could not agree with the proposed reform he was sent to prison on the 4th of March <108>. He had earlier opposed other changes, and in this context it can be noted that he was the only one who had directly written about ordination anointing in his answers to the king's seventeen questions in 1540. - The fact that Heath was summoned before the Council only six days after his appointment awakens the suspicion that the work of the committee had not been to compile a new ritual but simply to give its approbation to a ready-made one. In any case, the rest of the committee quickly finished its work and on the 3rd of March the new ordinal was published in the printed form together with a royal decree <109>. These orders were distinctly different from the old Sarum tradition - they were reformational orders which seemed to have been inspired by Martin Bucer in many respects. He was Cranmer's guest in the summer of 1549, and then he drew up, among other things, a draft of an ordination ritual in a book - *De Ordinatione legitima ministrorum ecclesiae revocanda*. The concordance between Bucer's draft and the new ordinal has been shown by several scholars. Cranmer's work with the new orders seems to have emanated more from Bucer's proposals than from the old Sarum. One fundamental difference is that while Bucer wanted one form only for all the ordinations to ministry in the Church, Cranmer wished to keep the traditional separation of the offices of deacon, priest and bishops with different rituals <110>. As in the ordinals of the other protestant Churches, anointing was lacking and the imposition of the bishop's hands was the central part of the act. Bucer wrote about the imposition in *De Ordinatione*, giving the view that it was a sign of God's participation in the act of ordination <111>. At the ordination of ministers, however, a presenting of the chalice and paten together with a Bible to the newly-ordained minister was retained after the imposition of hands. This shows that the new order did not at that time wish to take the step away from the conception that the main duty of the priest was to offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist towards claiming that his office was a pure office of preaching. Similarly, in the ritual for the ordination of bishops of 1550

a crozier was given to the newly-ordained minster in order to indicate the bishop's pastoral tasks, but also to recall the staff of Aaron.

In 1552 the second revised edition of the ordination rituals was issued. There, not only the anointing was left out, but also the respective presentings of chalice and paten and crozier. Now, only the Bible was presented. <112> The tendency of the development was obvious. All links with the sacerdotal priesthood of the old covenant were avoided and ministers and bishops were presented as preachers of the Word of the Bible. This was also the theme of the debate concerning priestly vestments when John Hooper was offered to become Bishop of Gloucester in 1550. By this time the critics who were loyal to the old faith had been removed, but the more radical protestants were still there. Hooper was one of those who had been in contact with the reformation in Switzerland and had studied under Zwingli and Bullinger <113>. He was offered the bishopric on the 7th of April 1550 but refused to accept the appointment and to be ordained according to the new ritual because the vestments used in his opinion were more fitting for Aaron and the gentiles than for the ministers of Christ, plus the fact that the crozier was presented and saints were mentioned in the royal oath <114>. At first it seemed as though Hooper's demands would be met, and on the 15th of May he accepted the appointment. One of his friends, Christopher Hales, wrote in a letter of the 24th of May: "Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester two days ago... he refuses to be consecrated and anointed in the usual way" <115>. After a controversy which lasted several months between the Council and Hooper about the form of the making of bishops, the Council finally, on the 27th of January 1551 sent Hooper to prison, where his opinions mellowed after eighteen days. On the 8th of March he could be ordained according to the new order in the usual vesture and begin his work in Gloucester. <116>

So, by 1552 all use of oil in church services except in Coronation had ceased in England. In the new rituals which were published in that year, anointing was missing also in connection with baptism and visits to the sick. <117>

At the Episcopal Synod in London 1552 a number of articles on which there was agreement were drawn up, Article VI concerned the Old Testament, and was simply introduced by saying that the Old Testament should not be discarded. It ended with stating that the law which was given from God to Moses did not bind the Christians in matters of ceremonies and rites - nor was civil aspects of it necessary to be received in any country; despite this it was undoubtedly so that no Christian was free from obedience to the commandments which were called moral. <118> This passage which touched on the freedom from the ceremonies of the old covenant was soon to be left out in the new reign of Queen Mary (see ch. 3.2.3.1.). Mary's successor, Queen Elizabeth, reinstated the ordinals of 1552 and definitely severed the links with the medieval rituals. Many of the radical protestants who had fled from England during the reign of Mary returned and influenced the ecclesiastical developments. Puritanism grew stronger and brought with it

protests against the fact that the ordinations had, in spite of the new ordinals, retained too many of the medieval ceremonies which were not in accordance with the New Testament. A more far-reaching reformation was demanded - the designation "Priest" was not to exist, "Elders" should be introduced into the parishes, and the difference in degree between priest and bishop was to be abolished. <119>

In 1559 the Queen once again became the head of the Church - although under a different title than Henry VIII. The oath which was pledged at ordination was called the "Oath of the Queen's sovereignty" instead of the earlier "Oath of the King's Supremacy". It can be of interest that all the bishops and priests who were appointed during the reign of Mary opposed these and similar changes, and were almost in all cases removed. <120>

When the ordination anointing had now been finally abolished it is natural to find rhetorical expoundings on these ceremonies, to which one objected and left behind, in many writings and sermons. It was custom of these times to elaborately explain one's repudiation of what was officially regarded as condemnable. James Pilkington, who was a preacher in Basel during Mary's reign was made Bishop of Durham by Elizabeth in 1561. <121> In an often used quotation he described the practice of anointing during Mary's period of re-Catholicization so ironically and so much from his own point of view that it is difficult to determine now, how he actually meant that it happened.

One of those who had stayed in England and had been removed under Queen Mary was Thomas Becon. He received several titles from Elizabeth, and wrote in "An humble Supplication unto God", that the mass should be thrown out from the community because it was a "vile and stinking idol" and instead the holy and blessed communion should be restored so that we, when we eat together of one bread and drink from one cup, may remember the death of the Lord and be grateful. "Purge our temples of all popish abominations, of ceremonies, of images, of altars, of copes, of vestments... of chismatories, and above all, idolatrous priests and ungodly ignorant curates." <122>

When James Calfhill dealt with confirmation in 1565 in "An answer to the Treatise of the Cross", he also touched on the use of oil. "Oil for the belly and belly for oil; but the Lord shall destroy both the one and the other. Good Lord. what beast but a Papist, what Papist but a Devil, durst presume to say, that salvation should be fet out of an oil-box?" <123>

John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, polemized in a similar way against the use of chrism. He accused the papists of calling it holy oil of salvation, thus leading people to believe that they would receive health in body and soul through it. Jewel also quoted a Dr. Panormitanus against the practice of anointing, saying that in the old times the apostles gave the Holy Spirit through the imposition of hands. But nowadays, since the bishops are not so holy, a resolution had been taken

that this sacrament should be given with chrism. <124> Where the office of the Church was concerned, Jewel was of the opinion that the office of the bishop was a question of form. Like Cranmer before him, he claimed that bishops were made through appointment and that consecration was not necessary. The bishop was only a minister with special formal duties. <125>

In connection with visitations to York in 1571 and to Canterbury in 1576, the primate of the Church of England, Archbishop Grindal, decreed that among other things all remaining chrismatories should be removed and destroyed. <126>

3.1.5. Conclusions.

In this chapter 3.1. material which many scholars have earlier investigated and drawn conclusions from has been dealt with. As has been pointed out in Chapter 1, it is difficult not to be constrained by the problems of other scholars when using this material still another time. Also there may be some difficulty for the reader to continuously see the new angle of approach which this investigation attempts to lay on the old material.

An introductory liturgical conclusion which can be drawn from what Luther wrote about the ordination anointing is that the new Roman Pontifical does not seem to have penetrated or been put into practice in the cathedrals which Luther knew of. The anointing was performed with chrism, and this was rejected in PR 1485 where it was directed that the oil of the cathecumens should be used instead. This is found in Chapter 3.2.1.1.

It can be stated that Luther was dependent on the medieval way of regarding the matter on still one more liturgical point. His attitude to the imposition of hands recalls that which the scholastics had shown, which has been presented in Chapter 2.2.4. They regarded the imposition of hands as a preparation for the ordination, which they held as being the conferring of the sacerdotal office with its instruments. That imposition was for them an important act of benediction within the ordination. In a similar way, Luther wrote about the imposition of hands as a biblical and solemn act of benediction which could be used at the ordination and, according to Luther, also at the instalment into a wordly office or at weddings. This way of looking at the matter may explain the fairly weak position of the imposition of hands in the German ordinations from the year 1535 and some decades later. It was, however, preserved in the ordination since it was of New Testament origin, but the anointing was unconditionally removed in the Protestant Churches. Due to the fact that there is no anointing in the Protestant Churches, no liturgical material where the anointing has been included has been dealt with in this chapter. The rejection of this anointing and the consequences of its abolition, however, belong to the problems caused by the ordination anointing and therefore makes up a consistent part of this investigation.

The reformers did not have the same opinion of the nature of the ordination and they turned against the use of ordination anointing for different reasons. They all claimed that it was linked with superstition and over-confidence since it was by most people considered to confer spiritual gifts in itself. Most of them also turned against the signification of this anointing in that the sacerdotal office of the priest was stressed in the ordination. The theologically most well-reasoned criticism, which has a clear connection with the liturgy and theology of the earliest Church, was that the consecration of all Christians at baptism was taken away by the ordination anointing. Among the reformers, Luther seems to have been the only one who forwarded this last aspect, which in itself included the other objections. This attitude towards the ordination anointing was for Luther placed in a greater context in which his views on the baptism and the ordination were different from those of the contemporary Catholic Church. Other reformers were influenced by Luther in various degrees, but it seems that only he went so far in his criticism of the ordination anointing as to not only regarding it as a threat to a right, evangelical ministry but also as a threat against the baptism and the mission of the Christian laity.

3.2. The Medieval Heritage.

The ordination anointings were given more fixed rituals in the printed Pontificale Romanum of 1485, which was widely used and soon took the place of the old, hand-written pontificals. Thus, many local variations began to disappear and the liturgy of the Western Church continued growing towards greater conformity, not least where ordination anointings were concerned. During the High Middle Ages these had shown great variation in number and execution. The understanding of these anointings still resembled that of coronation anointing, and in discussions concerning ordination there were marked difficulties in taking a common view on the question of what the essential act in the ordination was. When the Roman Catholic Church regained her position in England during the reign of Queen Mary, the unanointed priests and bishops of the reformation could not be accepted without a reordination which included anointing. For the Swedish King John III, the reinstatement of the ordination anointing in 1575 was one of the steps towards a reunion with the Roman Catholic Church.

The preservation and defence of ordination anointing will be described first.

3.2.1. Pontificale Romanum.

The first printed edition of a pontifical was published in Rome in 1485 (Pontificalis Liber) and its contents can chiefly be compared with that of Guilelmus Durandus (Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi - PGD) which had strongly influenced the liturgical development in Rome.<1>

3.1.1.1. The Ordination of Priests.

After a long preface sung by the bishop, the stole of the ordinand which had been worn in the manner of a deacon was crossed over his chest (*Accipe iugum*) and then the chasuble was presented (*Accipe vestem sacerdotalem*). The following act was the anointing of the ordinand's hands. A linen cloth (a gremial) was spread on the bishop's lap, and while the responsories *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and/or *Veni Creator Spiritus* were sung the ordinands, one by one, walked up to the bishop who anointed the inside of their hands with the oil of the catechumens saying "*Consecrare et sanctificare*" etc. The bishop then presented the chalice and paten and with this the power to sacrifice for the living and the dead (*Accipe potestatem*). This presentation was purely formal, since the hands of the ordinands were closed palm to palm and tied with a linen band after the anointing. The hands were not released and washed until the offertory. The receiving of the chalice and paten was - as in PGD - done symbolically in that the ordinand only touched the foot of the chalice and the edge of the paten with his fingers. <3> In the rubric for the part of the ordination which involved anointing, it was strongly stressed that the oil of the catechumens, not chrism, was to be used <4>, since chrism was reserved for the ordination of bishops <5>. When compared, the pontifical of 1485 and the PGD differ slightly in the formulas for the consecration of the hands <6> in that a transposition of "*benedixerint benedicantur*" and "*consecraverint consecrentur*" had taken place. It does, however, seem far-fetched to draw the conclusion that this transposition would imply a rejection of the understanding that the hands were consecrated with oil in order to perform the eucharistic consecration <7>. The following printed editions of the Roman pontifical only show small changes in the ordination anointings of priests <8>. Most of the changes were in the rubrics, but it was added to the formula of anointing that the bishop also blessed the hands <9>. Furthermore, the ending "... *et sanctificentur*" was added, while *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was omitted, leaving *Veni Creator Spiritus* as the only responsory <10>. The response "Amen" was inserted after the bishop's blessing of the ordinand's hands in *Pontificale Romanum* 1592 <11>.

In the pontifical of 1520 and those following, there are printed pictures which are of some interest in spite of the fact that none of those depicting the ordination of priests shows the anointing of the hands. After an illustration of the reading out of the ordinands' names, there is one showing the first of the two impositions of hands and one of the presenting of the chalice and paten. According to the rubric the first imposition was performed in silence before the preface of the ordination of priests. After the presenting of the chalice and paten, the mass continued after *Credo* when the second imposition took place with the words of receiving the Holy Spirit and the authority to absolve or to bind in sin. The illustration of the first imposition is of interest in that the picture in the pontifical of 1520 gives the impression that the bishop's hands rest on the ordinand's head, while those in the pontificals of 1561, 1582 and 1595 clearly depict the bishop's hands above the head. This could also possibly be understood by

the rubric (imponit simul utramque manum super caput). <12> If this imposition was performed as in the illustration, the ritual for the ordination of priests in fact only contained one imposition of hands in which the ordinand's head was touched, this taking place a considerable time after the prayer of consecration, the anointing, the presenting of the chalice and paten, etc. The illustration most likely shows, however, the hands of the bishop stretched out over the head during the prayer of consecration.

3.2.1.2. The Ordination of Bishops.

After the imposition of hands and the words about the Holy Spirit, there was the prayer Propiciare domine supplicationibus nostris followed by a sung preface of consecration. While the responsory Veni Creator Spiritus was sung, the bishop anointed the head of the ordinand with chrism in the form of a cross. There was a linen band tied round the ordinand's head to prevent the oil from running down. At the anointing of the head the bishop said "Ungantur et consecratur caput tuum etc." After this the long prayer Hoc domine copiose was sung, followed by the antiphon Ungentum in capite with Psalm 133 about the oil flowing down Aarons beard. During the psalm the ordinand's hands were anointed, and the bishop said, "Ungantur manus iste" <14>. This anointing was followed by the prayer Deus et Pater which, in the High Middle Ages, had often been accompanied by a complementary anointing of the thumb of the right hand, but was now reduced to a prayer <15> after which followed the blessing and presenting of the crozier and the ring.

Between the years 1485 to 1595 there were no changes worth mentioning in the anointing in the ritual of the Pontifical for the ordination of bishops. The striking difference between the ordination of bishops and that of priests was, besides the anointing formulas, the use of chrism at the ordinations of bishops and that the connection with the Old Testament was stressed at the ordinations of bishops with the mentioning of Samuel, David and Aaron.

A change which may be worth observing was introduced in the pontifical of 1497 in that the word "electi" was inserted into the rubric immediately before the anointing of the hands (inungit totaliter palmas electi dicens) <16>. This may imply that the ordinand after the imposition and the anointing of the head but before the anointing of the hands was not yet considered an ordained bishop but still only "electus".

As has been mentioned above, the pontificals of 1520 and later contained printed pictures illustrating different parts in the rituals. The ritual of the ordination of bishops is particularly rich in pictures, showing the two anointings, the imposition of hands and several other elements. In many of the different editions, the linen band tied around the head of the ordinand is clearly depicted, as well as the band from around the neck down to the hands where it was tied during the anointing of the hands.<17> (See Plate 3 & 4)

3.2.1.3. The Consecration of the Oils.

The oils which were used by the Catholic Church at, for example, baptism, confirmation, the anointing of the sick and the ordinations of priests and bishops were divided into three categories: the oil of the catechumens, the oil of the infirm and chrism. These oils were consecrated on Holy Thursday at a special service by the bishop of the cathedral. The priests of the diocese assembled around the bishop and brought the oils needed to their parishes from the mass of consecration of oils. The veneration which was due to the oils, particularly the chrism, was made manifest in this service.

The pontifical of 1485 closely followed PGD concerning the consecration of oils <18>. Oils and balm were brought to the bishop in a solemn procession and placed on a table placed by the altar for this purpose. The bishop blessed the balm (*Deus misteriorum*) and exorcised the oils (*Exorcizo te creatura olei*).

Concerning chrism, balm and oil were mixed during the saying of prayer. After the exorcism a preface with motifs from the Old and New Testaments was sung and then the bishop paid his reverence to the chrism by genuflecting three times, saying, "Hail, holy chrism (*Ave sanctum Crisma*)" <19>. The oil of the catechumens was venerated in a corresponding way after a longer exorcism (*Exorcizo te creatura olei*) and a prayer (*Deus incrementorum*) with the words "Hail, holy oil (*Ave sancta oleum*)".

The illustrations found here in the pontificals from 1520 and later show the procession by which the vessels containing balm and oil were brought to the bishop, and the bishop and priests gathered behind the table with the vessels. (See Plate 5)

3.2.1.4. The Introduction of the Printed PR.

The introducing of PR into the different provinces of the Church went step by step depending on how strong and vital the special traditions of the dioceses were. The relationship can be illustrated by a preserved copy of the PR of 1497 which was used by the Archbishop of Lund. This PR has been provided with notes in the margin which clearly show the complementary additions which were made on the basis of the existing *Pontificale Lundense*, as well as the traditions which were stronger than those prescribed by PR and were maintained instead of the PR being assumed. In this way it is possible to get an idea of the ordination liturgy around the year 1500 in Denmark, where the reformation a few decades later hindered a complete introduction of PR. <20>

For the ordination of priests it can be noted in the marginalia of this PR 1497 that the gospel was to be read before the consecration, immediately after the ordination of deacons and not, as PR directed, after the ordination of priests. This was a tradition specific to Lund.

The first imposition of hands in PR took place in silence

by the bishop and the assisting priests. On this point, the tradition of Lund was the stronger, and in the margin it is noted that the bishop should sing "Accipite Spiritum sanctum, quorum remisistis peccata remittuntur eis. Alleluya". <21> In the tradition which it was considered more important in Lund to maintain than to introduce PR, there was only one imposition of hands, and it took place - before the prayer which begun "Oremus, dilectissimi" - with the words of accepting the Holy Spirit. Before the imposition, Veni Creator Spiritus was sung.

The tradition with one imposition of hands before "Oremus, dilectissimi" and the words of the Holy Spirit in the order for the consecration of priests also recurs in, some French 13th century pontificals from Beauvais, Lyon and Chartres (with the words Accipe Spiritum) <22> and in a 14th century pontifical from Treves (with the words Accipite Spiritum) <23>.

Concerning the anointing at the consecration of priests, there was one more tradition in Lund which was stronger than PR. Veni Sancte Spiritus was sung while the anointing was performed with holy oil by the bishop during which he said: "Consecrare et dignificare...", but the word "recte" has been crossed out in this formula where it says "quecumque recte benedixerint" in PR. On this point, too, French influences can be traced against PR and also against PRG, which used "recte" in this formula at the words "quecumque recte consecraverint" <24>. The older tradition of Lund was considered more important to maintain that "recte" was crossed out in PR. After the anointing, the chalice and paten were presented in the usual way, but after this it is noted in the margin that the bishop should wash his hands <25>.

The liturgical tradition in Lund around the year 1500 can give guidance in the understanding of how ordination was performed in all of Scandinavia, since Lund was the see of the primate of Scandinavia for a long time. In this tradition the imposition of hands at the ordination of priests was more strongly emphasized than in PR with the aid of the words of accepting the Holy Spirit and with Veni, Creator Spiritus sung.

This example can show how regional traditions lived on for some time after PR had begun to be printed and spread.

3.2.2. Concilium Tridentinum.

The Council of Trent set a precedent for the development of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church during the 16th century. Therefore it is an important task to study more closely the discussions and resolutions on ordination which were written down there. (For sources and methods, see Chapter 1.) The council made public its resolutions on ordination on the 15th of July 1563, and they included an anathema on every one who rejected ordination anointing and said that it was abominable and to be condemned. "If anyone says that the holy unction which the Church uses in ordination is not only not required but is detestable and pernicious, as also are the other ceremonies of order, let him be anathema." Sess. 23, Can.

The protracted council returned several times to dealing with the ordination, and this account will investigate some of the difficulty, or perhaps unwillingness, to pin-point what the right form and matter of ordination was. On this issue, the members of the council were restrained by a resolution from the council in Florence in 1439 which claimed that the presenting of the chalice and paten with the words of accepting the power to sacrifice for the living and the dead was the true form and matter of ordination, through which the priesthood was conferred.

As the council progressed, several points of views on what ordination really was besides the decision taken in Florence could be clearly distinguished. Some pleaded the imposition of hands, others the anointing, and many members pleaded several elements which were all considered indispensable for a correct and valid ordination.

In order to understand the Council of Trent, it must be underlined that for those who took the resolution concerning ordination anointing which was made public in 1563, this was far from one of the more prominent and important issues, and the council did not see any difference in the practise of this anointing at the ordinations of priests and bishops. It should be pointed out that earlier research has not closely studied the debates on ordination anointing which took place. At these debates, several members of the council participated. They claimed that anointing was an apostolic tradition - some also that the anointing was the true act of ordination. Therefore, it is important to investigate here what was said about this anointing at this influential council.

3.2.2.1. Background and Process of Resolution.

On repeated occasions, Martin Luther demanded that a general council should be summoned so that the internal problems of the Church could be dealt with and solved jointly. As early as in 1518, Luther pleaded in vain that the questions which he had raised should be brought up at a council. Later, the idea of a German synod came up when it became obvious that the political difficulties in Europe were too great to surmount, but the council could not be realised on this occasion either. In the year 1529 the papal ambassador Pico della Mirandola declared in the Parliament at Speyer that the Pope was prepared to support Germany against the Turks and promote peace between Christian princes and - if it was needed - also to summon a council for the following summer. The Emperor Charles and Clement VII met in Bologna in 1530, and the Pope then confirmed his wish to summon a council if necessary, but the cardinal legate Campeggio rejected the idea of a general council since he suspected the protestants of dishonest intentions. The issue was also discussed at the Parliament in Augsburg in 1530, when Campeggio as earlier opposed a council despite the clear statement of the Emperor in favour of one provided that the Protestants were willing to rise against the advancing Turks. When the Protestants however, adhered to their confession and

formed a league of defence of their own, the council was once again postponed. During the following years the plans of a general council were discussed on repeated occasion, but unanimity about the place for the meeting could not be reached. On the 2nd of June 1536, Paul III summoned in a bull all patriarchs, archbishops and bishops as well as the Protestant leaders to gather for a council in Mantua on the 23rd of May 1537, but war broke out in Europe and the council was again postponed for the indefinite future. When peace and agreement about the place of the council had been reached, Paul III could in the bull "Laetare Hierusalem" of the 19th of November 1544 summon a general council in Trent to be opened on the 15th of March 1545. As only a few bishops were present on the indicated day, the opening had to be delayed until the 13th of December 1545. - That day the deliberations of the long-awaited council were officially begun. <26>

The Council of Trent is divided into three working-periods: 1) 13th of December 1545 - 10th of November 1549; 2) 1st of May 1551 - 23rd of April 1552; 3) 18th of January 1562 - 4th of December 1563.

1) During the first period, the heresies of the reformators were penetrated, and for this investigation it is of interest that the Concept of Sacraments, including the ordination, were gone through and debated. The relationship between the Emperor and the Pope became more strained at this time - the Schmalcaldic War had broken out in Germany and a serious epidemic ravaged Trent. Therefore the majority of the fathers of the meeting voted in favour of a temporary transfer of the council to Bologna. On the 12th of March 1547 the deliberations were transferred there and terminated in Bologna. On the 13th of September 1547 the council was dispersed and the bishops were called to Rome to prepare the continued work. On the 10th of November the pope died without the council having been reconvened.

2) The successor Julius III (1550-55) resummoned the meeting in Trent. During this second period of work, the important debates on the sacrifice of mass and the ordination took place in December 1551/January 1552. Ambassadors from several Protestant countries arrived in Trent in January 1552. The resolution concerning the sacrifice of mass and the ordination which was to be taken in January 1552, the deliberations which was on the whole completed, had to be postponed on the 25th of January 1552 because it was necessary to take the presence of the Protestants into consideration and take decisions about it. Because of war, the talks were adjourned on the 23rd of April 1552.

3) Neither Julius III nor his successor Paul IV reopened the council. It was Pius IV (1559-65) who sent out the summons to continue the work. At this time too there were great difficulties in deciding the place for the council. Several regents rejected Trent as the meeting-place. Finally, however, the council could again be opened in Trent on 18th of January 1562. The XXIInd session took the resolution on the sacrifice of mass on the 17th of September and during the autumn

Ordination was brought up again for discussion. The XXIIIrd session could then take a decision on ordination on the 15th of July 1563. After the conclusion of the council on the 4th of December 1563 when the 215 council fathers signed the resolutions, the resolutions were confirmed by Pius IV in bull "Benedictus Deus" on the 26th of January 1564. <27>

How did the council work to reach the decisions? The first weeks of the meeting were devoted to settling questions of procedure. It was decided that the issues the council should work with were first to be prepared in a small commission of experts (*congregatio theologorum minorum*), whereafter a proposal was to be presented to dogmatic and canonical treatment by two larger commissions (*congregatio praelatorum theologorum* and *congragatio praelatorum canonistarum*). Finally the item was presented to general debate (*congragatio generalis*), when everyone had the opportunity to express an opinion before the deliberation led up to a vote where the final wording was established. At ceremonious sessions (only twentyfive during the whole council) the reached resolutions were made public in the cathedral. The resolutions of the council are to be divided into three groups: a) decretals of faith (*decreta fidei*); b) practical reforms to be executed (*decreta de reformatione*); and c) condemnations of false doctrines (*canones*). The question of ordination anointing is included in the last group. <28>

3.2.2.2. The First Period.

In order to be able to assess the doctrine of the Protestants, the Pope had, after the idea of a council had advanced, asked for the writings of the reformers to be collected as a foundation for closer studies. It was Dr. Johann Fabri, later Bishop of Vienna, who, at least after 1530, procured several copies of these writings. Mainly, it was works by Luther, Melanchton, Zwingli, Bullinger and Calvin which were sent to Rome, but other reformational authors are also found in the list of bought reformatory writings which Fabri made <29>. In December 1546, the Jesuits Lainez and Salmeron, entrusted by Cardinal Cervini, began the difficult work of compiling what characterized the doctrine of the Lutherans and other Protestants in so-called "Heretic Articles" (*articuli hereticorum*). A similar work had already been done by Johann Eck and Johannes Cochlaeus, but now the compilation was not a contribution to a debate but to be the foundation of the deliberations of the general council of the Church. Of Luther's works, it is obvious that *De Captivitate Babylonica* was the best known one and which was of the greatest importance <30>. The general of the Augustin order, Girolamo Seripando, led the preparatory work in 1547 when the Concept of Sacraments was to be treated and the single sacraments were not examined one by one. The extreme unction, the ordination and marriage were gathered into one group and were to be treated at the same time. Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica* was first in Seripando's articles on these sacraments, but later works by Luther were also brought up, for example *De abroganda missa privata* and "vom ehelichen Leben". It can be understood from Seripando's articles that he in some cases only had knowledge of Protestant works through Catholic counter-works <31>. The

congregation of theologians conferred about ordination among other issues from the 29th of April to the 7th of May. The articles to be treated concerned Luther's doctrine - that ordination was no more than a rite through which the community elects a preacher, and that no authority to offer the sacrifice of mass is conveyed at ordination; ministry was solely an office with the duty to preach; he who does not preach was no priest. - The theologians turned against Luther's doctrines which were considered to be heretical, false, teaching wrong doctrine and against the view of the Catholic Church <32>. They also rejected the doctrine that all Christians should be priests in the same way, since even the Early Church recognized an ordination sacrament <33>.

For the general debate on ordination in July 1547, the theological congregation had drawn up five canons about ordination. Cardinal Cervini made the last adjustments on the new draft on the 19th of July. The theologians opposed the Protestants' teachings of ordination in five points. 1) The consecration is a sacrament, and not only a rite of electing a preacher in the congregation. 2) All Christians are not priests in the same way. (Here the Protestants were considered to deny the difference between a common and a special ministry.) 3) Ordination confers the authority to absolve and to bind in sin. 4) The bishop, not the laity, has the authority to elect, appoint and depose priests. 5) All priests do not have the same tasks of administering the sacraments. (Here, the understanding that the Protestants denied the difference between bishop and priest was intended.) On the 21st of July these points were presented to the council fathers. <34> In the course of the general debate, many suggestions of change were made. What is of interest for this investigation is not the discussion around the proposed canons as such, but the extent to which ordination anointing was brought into the talks at this early stage of the council. On the 27th of July Archbishop Matera (Giovanni Michele Saraceni, cardinal 1551) spoke about what the consecration implied and compared, as did many of the other council fathers, the consecration of the Church with the Aaronitic consecration in the Old Testament. In this context he defended the position of the anointing oil at the ordination with a quotation from Leviticus 8,2. With a reference to the great Lateran Council the Archbishop held the view that Christ had come to fulfil the old covenant.<35>

The deliberations on ordination and the other sacraments lasted for months. In his journals, Massarelli took up the debate about the contents of the five points, but on that occasion the anointing at ordination was not specially discussed. The November debate of the misuse of ordination was also described by Massarelli.<36>

The council did not reach any decision about the five canons during this period, although the issue was being prepared for a final resolution. The council wished to continue the work with the question of indulgence instead.<37>

3.2.2.3. The Second period.

In October and November 1551 the council fathers took the decisions on the Eucharist, the Penance and the Extreme Unction at the XIIIrd and XIVth sessions. At the same time, the preparations for once again going through the articles on ordinations had begun. A small group was to work with five articles from 1547, founded on the writings of the reformers to provide material for the work of the meeting of the theological congregation in December. During this preparatory work, relatively thorough changes were made. The ordination anointing was for the first time seriously introduced into the work and received a position among the canons, which it retained. The reformers had evidently been investigated more minutely (mainly Calvin <38>), and on every point the heresies which were to be opposed were taken up. Martin Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica* was once again subjected to careful scrutiny, and the Franciscan theologian Johannes Antonius Delphinus compiled twelve heresies which he had found in this book and in *De abroganda missa privata*.

Among these heresies one can note: 1) that ordination was not a sacrament decreed by God; 4) that all who are baptized, also women and children, are priests; and 6) that priests do not differ from laymen except in that they preach <39>. The heresy that all who are baptized are priests, Delphinus claimed to have found in Luther's *De captivitate*, Bucer's *Liber Reformationis* and in Calvin's *Institutio* <40>. In the continued work the question of the imposition of hands was brought up, and among twelve points of faults in the ordination doctrine of the reformers, the Conventual brother Francis Visdomini presented a point of faulty which especially concerned the anointing: 10) Anointing was not needed in the ordination tradition - only the imposition of hands. Visdomini mainly referred to Calvin's *Institutio*, which recurred several times in the debate about the negative attitude of the reformers towards anointing. In the mentioned work of Calvin, the reformer raised the question why anointing should be considered more pleasing than the ephod cope and other things which had been commended to Aaron and his sons, so that anointing should be specially kept while the rest was abandoned. Calvin only defended the imposition of hands at the ordination. <41> After this contribution the issue of anointing recurred in several of the theologians' lists of heresies, and Martin Olave, for example, brought it up in three points in his long account <42>.

According to Massarelli, it was mainly the Franciscans Delphinus and Visdomini and the Spaniard Olave who were behind the new articles which were presented to the theological congregation on the 3rd of December 1551 <43>. These articles included the false doctrines of the reformers concerning both the sacrifice of mass and the ordination (*Articuli de sacrificio missae et sacramento ordinis per DD. theologos examinandi, an sint haeretici et damnandi per sanctam synodum*). This is of importance in order to understand how the articles on ordination had developed. Now they were put together with the sacrifice of mass as being connected with those articles (- if mass is a sacrifice, the ministry is a sacerdotal office). All ideas that the mass was not sacrifice in the Old Testament

sense were rejected, and in the six articles of false doctrines about ordination which were presented to the theological congregation it recurred: 3) that all Christians were equal priests; 4) that the New Testament did not recognize a sacrificial priesthood and that he who did not preach was no priest; and the newly added in comparison with the articles of 1547; 5) that anointing was not only wished at ordination but was harmful and contemptible like all other ceremonies, and that the Holy Spirit was not conveyed through ordination.<43> This fifth article originated with Calvin.

Until the 29th of December the theological congregation worked with the articles on the sacrifice of mass and ordination before they were ready to be given to the general congregation for a general debate <45>. The Franciscan Juan de Ortega went through the draft to the fifth article on ordination on the 10th of December and maintained the position of anointing with references to Clement, Anacletus and Leo the Great. In Ortega's address, the anointings of the Old Testament were of great importance, and he showed how the Spirit of God was with those who had been anointed and expressed the view that it could not be assumed that the anointing had been less practised among the first Christians than in the old times. Because of this it was rash and a great falsehood to say that anointing was detestable.<46>

The German Dominican Johannes Walter gave another angle of approach to this issue on the 11th of December when he, like St. Thomas, rather wished to regard the imposition of hands as a necessary preparation for the form and matter of ordination, which would be the words which bestowed the power to sacrifice for the living and the dead at the presenting of the chalice and paten.<47>

The longest contribution in the theological congregation in defence of anointing (and in the whole council, concerning anointing) was made on the 12th of December by a Carmelite brother from Flanders, Alexander Candidus. As it was proposed, he claimed powerfully that it involved heresy to reject anointing. With references to Dionysius, Cyprian and Augustine, Candidus attempted to found the ordination anointing in the earliest times of the Church and to show that anointing had of old been regarded as a necessary part of ordination. Together with his quotation from Augustine, Candidus brought forward a widely-known contemporary conception - that the apostles had ordained James, the brother of the Lord, bishop in Jerusalem through the imposition of hands and with anointing. In his comprehensive expounding, Candidus also touched on the giving of the Holy Spirit at ordination.<48>

The German Carmelite Everhard Billick from Cologne also dealt with the right shape of ordination, and it was becoming clear that no one wanted to decide completely what had to be included and what was not necessary for the ordination. Billick spoke of the imposition of hands, the presenting of the chasuble, the anointing of the hands, the presenting of the bread and wine and the words "Accipite Spiritus Sanctum". It is of interest that Billick, besides the earlier mentioned Fathers

of the Church also referred to Chrysostom as support for anointing (it is of interest since it shows the lack of knowledge of the council fathers that this anointing had never existed in the Eastern Church).<49>

On the 17th of December, Gregor Sylvius, a Flemish Dominican, compared the priesthood of the Church with that of the Levites - as several of the council fathers did - but brought the criticism further against the priesthood of all Christians by claiming that all Christians were no more priests than they were kings (from 1 Pet. 2,9).<50> - Francisco de Heredia from Spain meant on the 18th of December, as all the preceding speakers had meant, that the form of ordination was the words pronounced at the bestowing of the office, the matter was the imposition of hands, the presenting of the chalice, "etc". That the ordination conferred a special grace was underlined by Heredia with several examples from the Bible.<51> On the 19th and 20th of December, two of the most thought-provoking contributions followed. The Franciscan (Conventual brother) Francis Visdomini who had been one of those who had presented the proposal that the rejection of the anointing should be included among the heresies, stressed on the 19th that anointing really belonged to the true matter of the ordination (unctio olei benedicti est vera materia) which signified and conferred the grace of God <52>. In an additional speech on the 20th of December Visdomini claimed that anointing could be traced back to apostolic tradition. This anointing was not Jewish or from Aaron but received from Christ. Here, Visdomini went far in his accentuating of the anointing and repeated that the anointing was the true matter of the ordination and that it was through anointing and the imposition of hands that the grace which Paul wrote of in 1 Tim. 4,14 and which is mentioned in Acts 6,6 was conferred. That anointing came from Christ and the apostles - not because of the Judaism but despite it <53>.

On the 2nd of January the general congregation met for the first time with the material that the theologians had developed. Now the general congregation had to work under a time-limit if any decisions were to be reached. During the general debate several of the participants wanted a closer adherence to the reformational wordings so that it would be expressed more clearly what was not Catholic faith and rite. The definite form of the articles on the sacrifice of mass and the sacrament of ordination with which the council was working, strongly emphasized the sacrificial character of the mass and the ordination as a sacramental act, in which the office was conferred through anointing and the imposition of hands with the words of accepting the Holy Spirit. On the 21st of January all texts were in existence. According to the plans, they were to be finally discussed in the council plenary, but despite the fact that the work had progressed that far, the presiding committee encountered a problem which hindered the continued work - the admission and arrival of the Protestants to the council. On the 25th of January the decrees on the sacrifice of mass and the ordination were read out by the Bishop of Catania, Nicola Maria Caracciola, but no resolution could be taken. On that day, the council abandoned these issues, not to take them

up again during the second period.<54>

During the deliberations of the general congregation, opinions on ordination anointing were expressed on some occasions. The Bishop of Vienna and Zagreb stated on the 7th of January that neither the anointing nor the other acts of ordination were to be condemned. The anointing was the external sign of the grace of the Holy Spirit which was given at ordination. For the sake of this grace the anointing was necessary in the consecration and should be comprehended with the outmost reverence. The order of consecration contained many pious ceremonies which had been instituted by the old bishops and should be kept.<55> - The Archbishop of Cologne also commented on the article and said that anointing was a tradition from the apostolic time, which was confirmed by Cyprian.<56> - On the 9th of January some council fathers touched briefly on anointing, and gave the earlier used arguments with verifications from the letters of Clement, of Anacletus and from Cyprian.<57> The Bishop of Konstantz met the reformers' criticism of the anointing on the 11th of January with the aid of the Old Testament, Lev. 4,3 and Num. 3,5.<58> In the deliberations of the 19th of January the article on the anointing was given its final wording during the second period of the council. - He who says that anointing is not required in the tradition of the sacrament of ordination but is harmful and condemnable like all other ceremonies: let him be condemned.<59>

3.2.2.4. The Third Period.

It could easily be assumed that the council fathers would be ready to make a decision concerning the ordination articles soon after the beginning of the third period as they were so well prepared. This was, however, not the case. It was to take until the 15th of July 1563 when the council made its resolution on ordination public. During the negotiations leading up to the XXIIIrd session when this took place, the ordination anointing came to be dealt with several times.

The work on the ordination was begun on the 18th of September 1562, and the anointing was treated in the sixth of the articles <60>. These issues were assigned to the theological congregation and on the 25th of September the Dominican Hadrianus Venetus said that the Church had a visible sacerdotal priesthood which was conferred through the imposition of hands and anointing <61>. Another Dominican, the Spaniard Johannes Gaglio, defended the anointing with the support of Aaron from the old covenant and of Innocent, Dionysius, Anacletus and Fabianus from the history of the Church <62>. On the 30th of September the Spanish Jesuit Juan Polanco (the secretary of the Jesuit General) claimed that anointing went back to apostolic tradition <63>. Still another Spaniard, Michael Orocuspus (Miguel Oronsuspes) appeared in favour of anointing on the 1st of October and took the view that the Old Testament heralded what was to come. He also took several Fathers from the history of the Church as a support: Anacletus, Fabianus, Ambrose and Augustine.<64> The same day the Dominican Antonius de Grossuto explained why he thought

that anointing at ordinations should not be condemned <65>. Adamans Florentinus, ord. Eremit. also spoke in the theological congregation on the 2nd of October, and said that the anointing was a necessity in the ordination, while the imposition of hands was not harmful, but not indispensable either, for the conferring of the Holy Spirit.<66>

On the 13th of October 1562 the material from the theologians was delivered to the debate in the general congregation. At the presenting of the proposals for the drawing up of articles on the ordination, the theologians expressed their reverence for the form which the ordination had had since the time of the apostles. Among the old ceremonies, the Church had always retained the holy anointing with a clear conscience <67>. As the fifth canon it was suggested that whoever said that holy anointing which the Church used was not only not required at the ordinations but harmful and contemptible like all the other ceremonies of ordination, he should be condemned.<68>

During the deliberations of the following days, several suggestions of changes were brought forward, chiefly as suggestions of additions. Several of the council fathers wished to add to canon 5 about the anointing words which indicated that the Church had the anointing through tradition <69> or preferably from apostolic tradition <70>. In the course of the debate the old form of the article also recurred, that in which the anointing and the words "Accipite Spiritum Sanctum" were dealt with under the same article <71>. In the continued debate there were - as has been mentioned earlier - several references to the tradition of the Church (Innocent III <72>) and the Fathers (the second letter of Anacletus, the letter of Cyprian <73>) in order to corroborate the position of anointing. Bishop Auriensis wanted to substitute the words in canon 5 about considering the anointing not required (non requiri) with "superfluous" (superfluum esse). He objected against the condemnation of those who rejected anointing at ordination. Certain belonged to the essence of the sacrament of ordination, such as the presenting of the chalice, while others were only needed according to the tradition of the Church, such as the holy anointing. In his statement the bishop also said that it was true that the anointing was unnecessary in relation to the essence of the sacrament but that it was required because of the tradition of the Church.<74>

On the 3rd of November a proposal for the shaping of the ordination articles was once again presented. Article 5 on anointing remained unchanged in relation to the previous working draft (see note 68) <75>. In a speech on the 8th of November, the fathers were reminded that the council in Florence had employed the terms form and matter in order to avoid ambiguities <76>. - This is a contribution which shows that there were many who recognized the difficulty in reaching a decision on this issue in Trent.

A minor suggestion of a change in the text of canon 5 was brought up on the 18th of November 1562, when it was proposed that "sacram unctionem" should only be called "unctionem" and

"ordinis" should be substituted for "ordinum" <77>. - In his statement of the 4th of December, Cardinal de Lothoringia also confessed the difficulty in pin-pointing the form and matter of the ordination <78>. A Franciscan observator went back to Luther's De Captivitate Babylonica in the debate on the 7th of December <79>, but it is important to have in mind that the council fathers often had reason to refer to reformational works in the debate on ordination.<80>

In January 1563 canon 5 on anointing was included among the articles, without anyone directly making a point of order about this article in the deliberations on ordination. The uncertainty as to the shape of the ordination remained <81>. Cardinal Lotharingia held a long speech about the ordination articles on the 12th of May, in which he also briefly touched on anointing <82>. With this speech, the treatment of ordination in the council was beginning to come to an end. The great question at that point mostly concerned the bishops' residence duty.

On the 15th of July the resolution of the council were made public in the cathedral of Trent under ceremonious forms - the XXIIIrd session of the Council of Trent. After a mass to the Holy Spirit, celebrated by the Bishop of Paris, the resolutions taken on ordination were read out. They included questions on doctrine, divided into four chapters, the rejection of heresies - eight canones, and resolutions on necessary reforms - eighteen chapters. After the proclaiming of the resolutions Te Deum was sung.<83>

On going through the discussions and resolutions of the Council of Trent, it becomes clear that the delegates had very different opinions of what was required at an ordination and what the historical background of the different ceremonies of the consecration were. It was evident, however, that many at the council regarded anointing as an apostolic tradition, and that there were also eloquent advocates of the conception that the anointing belonged to the most necessary and central acts of the consecration. As the participants in the council represented several Church provinces and orders, the conclusion can be drawn that the understanding of anointing as an important part of the ordination was known in the entire Roman Catholic Church. Only one of the speakers at the council had objections against that these who rejected anointing should be considered as condemned (see note 73). It is also of interest that the fifth canon of the XXIIIrd session only says that he who rejects anointing was condemned. It does not express any opinion of whether the validity of the ordination was dependent on this ceremony. This question was of current interest in several Protestant countries which had changed to different orders for ordination and abandoned many of the old practices, but the council did not give any answer to that.

It is clear from the discussions at the Council of Trent that the fathers intended the ordination of priests, not of bishops, by ordination. The liturgical elements which were brought up were always those which recurred in the ritual for the ordination of priests in the Roman pontifical, and the

question of ordination was often linked with questions concerning mass and the sacrifice of mass. The priesthood was considered to be the central office of the Church by the fathers of the council - the office which, like the office of the old covenant, every day offered sacrifices to God for the sins of the people. To discuss the ordination to this office was what was important. The bishop's office was considered more as an office of leadership which was to direct and lead the Church and carry the responsibility in issues of doctrine <84>. With this view on the priesthood it became natural to claim that the priests, like their predecessors in the Old Testament, should be anointed.

As has been shown earlier, the order for the ordination of priests in the Roman pontifical included two instructions about the imposition of hands. Therefore, when the fathers of the council discussed the form and matter of the ordination it was not always easy to know which of these two impositions was intended. Sometimes it was spoken of the imposition of hands and anointing (see note 61), sometimes the anointing was mentioned before the imposition (see note 49). The debate was simplified when the words of accepting the Holy Spirit were used again in the deliberation on the fifth canon (see note 60). This simplification made it clear that the second imposition of hands of the ordination was intended, since it was only then that the words about accepting the Holy Spirit (and to absolve and bind in sin) were said. Since the council did not involve any changes in the ritual for the ordination of priests in the pontifical, this accentuating of the second imposition of hands implied that the anointing came forward as the central act of the ordination. - The second imposition only came after that which was generally associated with the ordination of priests (the prayer of consecration, the anointing, the presenting of the chalice and paten) had been completed and the mass had continued.

The Council of Trent had a greater influence on doctrinal development than on what has been said about the liturgical development. Many commentaries to the resolutions of the council were made. One of the theologians who influenced the contemporary theological debate was George Cassander. The opinion of ordination which he represented was not the dominating one at the council, but his works have been of significance - perhaps chiefly in the protestant countries - and he is often designated as an intermediary theologian. In his work *Consultatio* (*De Articulis religionis inter catholicos et protestantes controversis consultatio*, 1564) Cassander brought up the question of ministry and entered on the position of anointing. In a way which recalls reformational theologians in the transitional stage from the Roman Catholic to a Protestant Church - when the old ceremonies were remodelled in an evangelical direction, Cassander wrote of the anointing as an external act which wants to point at the inner, invisible work of the Spirit. He clearly avoided to link the anointing with the priesthood of the old covenant or to speak of a sacerdotal office. Instead he attempted to refer to Augustine and emphasized the Word of God, the ministry of the Word and the works of the grace of God. <85>

With this attempt to conciliate between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches, it is appropriate to go on to the attempts at reconciliation which were made and to see how they influenced the question of ordination anointing.

3.2.3. Resumed Use of Ordination Anointing.

At least two of the European royal families had members who saw with anxiety how the reformation separated the Churches of their countries from the Roman Catholic Church and who wished to work for a reunion. When they reached the throne and the power, attempts for such reunions were made, one of which was successful - in England - and one of which failed - in Sweden. Ordination anointing was linked with both these reconciliatory attempts, and this is to be investigated now. For the Anglican Church there was reason to reinstitute the priesthood and ordinals in accordance with the orders of the Roman Catholic Church, and in the Church in Sweden preparations were made for a reunion in that the king re-introduced anointing at the ordinations. This anointing came to be part of the medieval heritage which was brought forward in these Churches in order to indicate the link with the Church of the Middle Ages and to show that it was not a new Church that had been established, severed from the old one. The anointing was needed to mark the continuity from the old Church.

3.2.3.1. England.

During the reign of King Edward VI (1547-53) the reformational changes in the ordinals were carried through. As regards the orders of 1550 and 1552 ordination anointing was abandoned. At his accession to the throne, Edward was only nine years old, and the country was ruled by a council consisting of sixteen men among whom Archbishop Cranmer was most prominent churchman and was behind the new ordinals which were published in the name of the King.<86>

In the evening of the 6th of July 1553 the young monarch, who had for a long time carried the mark of death as a result of several diseases, died. Even before his death, the struggle for the throne had begun. On the 19th of July, the eldest of Henry VIII's daughters, Mary was finally proclaimed queen. With her, a re-Catholization of England was begun, since she had adhered to the Catholic faith. On the 30th of November 1554 the Church of England could be officially reunited with the Roman Catholic Church. This took place after negotiations with Rome who sent Cardinal Pole to London. Pole spoke in the House of Commons and the House of Lords on the 28th, 29th and 30th of November. Then his speech was discussed separately, which led to a vote in favour of a reunion. On the 30th of November the Lord Chancellor could inform the Queen and the parliament the result of the vote, after which he gave the word to the Cardinal who, in the capacity of papal legate pronounced an absolution and read out the act of reconciliation. After this all gathered in the chapel for a ceremonious Te Deum.<87>

Between the Queen's accession to the throne and the

solemn reunion, the situation was confused. Not until March 1554 could the Catholic discipline and canon laws be reinstituted <88>. Several trials followed, and the priests and bishops who had married or been heretical were removed. There were also difficulties as to how they should be regarded who had been ordained priests and bishops with the new orders which had been practised for three years. Later, Pope Paul IV said in the bull *Praeclara Carissimi* of the 20th of June 1555 that those who were to serve as priests and bishops had to be "rite et recte ordinato" <89>. The Pope eventually elucidated this in a letter - *Regimini Universali* - of the 30th of October in the same year, by saying that they should be ordained "in forma ecclesiae" <90>. Only those bishops who were not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church could, according to Paul IV, be said to be incorrectly ordained.

He left further interpretation of this to Cardinal Pole. How did he come to solve the problem with those who had been ordained bishops and priests by the new rituals? There were examples of reordinations at that time, but it could not have been a matter of a large group of people. It appears from the registers from the years when the new orders were in practice that about one hundred and twenty persons were ordained <91>. Of these, the vast majority was probably out of question as Catholic priests because of marriage and heresy. It is known that reordination took place between thirteen and fifteen times <92>. Pilkington mentions particularly that anointing was used in these cases where the earlier ordination was considered insufficient, saying that in the last days of papacy, the holy bishops called to them all those who had been made ministers without that anointing. They were blessed with the Pope's blessing and anointed, after which all was perfect: they could sacrifice for the living and the dead but not in any case marry <93>. From this, many scholars draw the conclusion that there was no actual reordination but only a completion with anointing <94>, but there are no real records of such a ceremony apart from Pilkington's later intimation, which might at the same time also be a description of a reordination the way he understood it. Thus, this investigation argues that the most probable alternative is that the ordination as a whole was repeated. <95>

Another interesting indication of how the reformational orders were looked upon at that time, concerns the above mentioned Ferrar who was ordained bishop by Archbishop Cranmer in 1548, a long time before the new ordinals were decreed but after the death of Henry VIII. Many things suggest that Cranmer at this ordination made reforming changes in the old ritual, and when Ferrar was deposed from his office he was removed from the priesthood and was not considered a bishop. The same thing applied to Hooper who had been ordained priest by the old order but made bishop by the new. He was deposed from ministry in January 1555 <96>.

An important document of that time is Edmund Bonner's *A profitable and necessary doctrine*, from 1555. In this work Bonner entered into the question of ordination and wrote that in one sense all Christians, men and women, were priests according to the Bible, namely in the sense that they should

continue to offer spiritual sacrifices to God, but that besides the general priesthood there was also a particular vocation or function, and through the bishop's hand the grace and power was received which was needed to become the servant of the Catholic Church <97>. At this time, Bishop Bonner was one of the remaining bishops from the reign of Henry VIII. He was ordained Bishop of London on the 4th of April 1540, opposed the changes under King Edward and was sent to prison, from which he was released on the accession of Queen Mary. This experienced churchman who had been Henry VIII's representative on several occasions, in among other places Spain and Germany (1542-43) thus stressed the role of the imposition of hands at ordination in his work of 1555, and neither mentions anointing nor presenting of the chalice and paten. As a Catholic bishop at that time with so many uncertainties about what should be included in an ordination, it must be regarded as noteworthy that Bonner so unequivocally maintained the special position of the imposition of hands.<98>

One more bishop who had spent a long time in prison under King Edward was released when Mary became Queen - the Bishop of Winchester, Stephan Gardiner was released on the 3rd of August 1553. He was one of the staunch defenders of ordination anointing during his last years in prison. In the years 1550 and 1551 he had repeatedly been summoned before the Council to give his consent to the articles which were laid before him. As he refused every time, he was sent back to imprisonment. On the 8th of January he made a statement in front of the interrogator, which he recounted later in his work "Long Matter Justificatory". The Duke of Somerset (the Protector) demanded his opinion of the new ritual for the ordination of priests. The bishop took out the new order and said "...it touched the honour and dignity of the king's person and succession, who, by this order, should never after be anointed, having no Samuel left to execute it...". He said further that the Book of Common Prayer admitted anointing at baptism but the priest could not minister it since he was not anointed. <99> Evidently, Gardiner took the view that the new orders were invalid and insufficient, maybe to a great extent because the anointing was missing. This, he turned sharply against the person of the King, intimating that the succession on the throne was threatened since no priests were anointed any longer and could anoint the king's successor. Perhaps with the prayer Deus et Pater from the ritual for the ordination of bishops in mind (or the words which were said at the anointing of the hands at coronation), in which it was spoken of how Samuel anointed David king, Bishop Gardiner revealed the importance which he attached to the anointing. With no anointed priests, the King could not be anointed to his office and become king. It should be noted that Gardiner said that no Samuel remained to execute the coronation anointing. A statement like this one can hardly be interpreted in any other way than that he implied that those who were ordained according to the new ordinals were not priests, which it was showed later that he did mean. It is also of interest that Gardiner, despite the fact that he spoke about the coronation which was executed by bishops only, still spoke of the ordination of priests which for him, as for the fathers of the Council of Trent, was the ordination of the Church to

its office. After Gardiner's release, Cardinal Pole wrote in a letter to him dated the 28th of August 1553 that through his release he ought to become a great and strong instrument to help the kingdom to become free from schism and from all heresy <100>. Later, Bishop Gardiner participated when new bishops were ordained to their office, and his opinion of those who had been ordained with the new ritual during the reign of King Edward was clearly shown in a sermon before the Queen and Cardinal Pole in 1554, in which the bishop said of these earlier ordained that they were only laymen <101>. Bishop Gardiner's position must not be underestimated. At the coronation of Mary on the 1st of October 1553, it was he who took the place of the absent Archbishop and crowned her <102>. It was Bishop Bonner, however, who received the task to deprive Archbishop Cranmer of his office in Oxford in February 1556 <103>. It is remarkable to observe how Bonner and Gardiner, two significant Catholic church leaders of that time, differed in their views on ordination, and this must be regarded as typical manifestation of those times of the uncertainty which prevailed in this question, which was also reflected at the Council of Trent.

On the 17th of November 1558 Queen Mary died, and England again experienced profound changes with a return to the ecclesiastical development of the reformation. During the time of Elizabeth's reign the ties to Rome were finally severed and the ordinals of 1552 were reinstituted. <104> During four short years (1554-58) the Catholic orders had been in force, and anointing had been used at the consecrations of new bishops and priests as well as at the reordinations of those who had been ordained according to the reformatory rituals. The instruction of Pope Paul IV in 1555 that those who were to perform duty as priests and bishops should be rightly ordained according to the form of the Church, hardly gave any clear indication of the position of anointing. Here the uncertainty can be seen clearly in the different opinions of Bishop Bonner and Bishop Gardiner as to what was required for a correct ordination. This uncertainty was also manifested, as has been shown earlier, at the same time among the participants of the council gathered in Trent.

3.2.3.2. Sweden.

For King John III of Sweden, there were several reasons, both political and religious, to draw closer to the Roman Catholic Church. The political interests of the King in many ways required the support of the Pope in order to be reached, and owing to his Catholic wife, the Polish Katarina Jagellonica, he came into personal contact with the Catholic spirituality through her and her confessor. During the time of his imprisonment, before John's accession to the throne in 1568, he studied the Fathers of the Church carefully and was influenced by them in such a way that it impressed on his entire work and life. Several scholars are also of the opinion that he had at an early stage acquainted himself with the works of Georg Cassander and through them became inspired to work as an conciliator in the ecclesiastical conflict between Catholics and Protestants <105>. In a remarkable way, John III came to

reintroduce the practice of ordination anointing in Sweden through his personal intervention - this practice which had been laid aside for decades since John's father Gustaf I had carried through the reformation.

In the first years of his reign John III did not effect any ecclesiastical changes. The old Archbishop Laurentius Petri Nericius, who had been ordained as early as in September 1531 still lived and had great influence. The Church Order of 1571 confirmed the position of the Protestant Church in Sweden, and the king's plans of the future development of the Church were not yet apparent. In the year 1573 the old Archbishop passed away. During the more than half a year long vacancy on the See, the King started the work by cautiously presenting the proposals which were to bring the Swedish Church nearer to Rome. On the 11th of May 1574 the King wrote to the Bishop of Västerås about talks with the clergy of the diocese concerning additions to the Church Order <106>. Work on a new Church Order was now begun by John III, and in the course of 1574 it became clear on which points he wished to improve the Church Order of 1571. At the Parliament 1574 in Stockholm, the bishops and ministers received ten articles for discussion <107>. These articles dealt with the mass, and caused such an opposition against the King that he had to make a public denial of the accusation that he was a Catholic and wished to abandon the Swedish Church Order. In December 1574 the newly elected Archbishop Laurentius Petri Gothus was given seventeen articles which he had to pledge that he would execute and sign before his ordination <108>. These articles concerned a reinstitution of confirmation, the monastic life, the intercession for the dead, certain Church festivals etc. Among these articles the third was noted, which said that the ordination of bishops should be performed according to the old custom, and the seventeenth which mentioned the reinstitution of the extreme unction. The king did not yet wish to speak of ordination anointing but made a first attempt to take anointing into practice in Sweden by resuming the extreme unction. This had been included in the manuals of the Swedish reformator Olavus Petri from 1529, 1533 and 1537 and had there been given certain biblical support. The elected Archbishop signed the obligation on the 11th of January 1575.

John also wished to insert the extreme unction in the preparatory work to Nova Ordinantia (NO), but was met with compact opposition <109>. The opposers took the view that on the deathbed, the word of God and the Eucharist was enough. With a reference to the old Archbishop it was claimed that nothing was necessary for the sick except to make a confession and receive the Word and sacrament of God - there was no need of the extreme unction <110>. The king's adversity was obvious. He had failed in an attempt to begin to restore the practice of anointing, and in Nova Ordinantia the extreme unction was not mentioned - but not its rejection either.

In the preparatory work to the new Church Order, the attempt to reinstitute anointing in Sweden concerned the extreme unction. Confirmation was included in NO, but a confirmation remodelled in an evangelical direction without

anointing. The next time that the King brought up the issue of anointing, it was in the context of ordination. In the light of the fact that the King at that time was beginning to prepare the new order for mass, in which the sacrificial motif was more stressed than what was usual in Protestant Churches, it is perhaps not so surprising that he also wished to bring forward the sacrificial idea at ordination and point out, through anointing, that the minister was a sacrificial priest (sacerdos). The resolution on anointing of the Council of Trent, and the underlining of it by several Catholic theologians could be further reasons for a king, who wished for an approachment with Rome, to reintroduce it.

The occasion the King found convenient was before the ordination of Laurentius Petri Gothus in 1575, and it was well chosen in that the elected archbishop had proved complaisant by signing the seventeen articles, among which the third was found. On this occasion, however, the King was faced with stronger opposition. The correspondence between him and the Archbishop has been preserved and it shows the emphasis with which the King forced his demands through at this time <111>. This correspondence took place in July, but before then the question had been brought up at deliberations in Stockholm in February and March. Then it had been decided, despite certain resistance, that crozier and mitre should be used at the coming episcopal ordination. The idea of also reintroducing anointing at the ordination was brought up at these talks, possibly by the King's confidant Petrus Fecht. The archbishop-to-be stated that anointing was a foreign rite and that it was necessary to differentiate between gold and dirt. Anointing could not be compared with the mitre and crozier <112>. Bishop Martinus of Linköping said that the papist ceremonies brought evil with them. Many rites were indifferent, but the anointing was not an unimportant but a sinful rite <113>. According to Olavus Petri Medelpadius, all relations with popery was harmful, and the Bishop of Skara took the view that the imposition of hands was the only fitting ceremony. Anointing was spoken of as a superstitious practice from the Pope, and Abraham Angermannus pointed out that the Old Church adopted the practice which later became a misuse. To readopt the practice would mean to reintroduce the misuse and that the Christians could live in whatever religion they wished <114>. Although the majority at the deliberations did not want any changes in the ordination ritual, the decision which they also signed was that mitre and crozier should be used. Ordination anointing was mentioned neither in the decision nor in NO <115>.

Not until the King, contrary to the agreement made, commanded that anointing was to be used at the episcopal ordination of that summer, it was made evident that he would not give up his demands on this issue. At the meeting of priests in Uppsala on the 5th of July 1575, the bishops and L.P.Gothus were subjected to criticism by the clergy for their yieldingness to the King. This particularly concerned John's demand of the use of anointing at the ordination. The vicar of Vendel drew up a letter about this from the clergy to the king's secretary and the bishops, in which the problem was seen from the point of view of the parish minister. The old

ministers would probably rejoice at the reinstitution of papacy, but for the younger this meant an apostasy and an acceptance of all kinds of superstition. Therefore the clergy wished to adhere to the decision of the Church Synod of 1572 that no ceremonies should be reintroduced <116>. Because of the opposition against anointing, L.P.Gothus wrote to the King on the 6th of July and reminded him of the discussions in Stockholm earlier in the same year. Together with the other bishops he wished to be released from "ritus unctionis" for the sake of his conscience. L.P.Gothus was of the opinion that anointing was only fitting at coronation in order to indicate the outward power of the King, while the anointing of ordination should be an inner, spiritual anointing. The letter ended with a plea to the King that he would be satisfied with the use of crozier and mitre, as it was in NO. <117> The King's reply did not wait. On the 7th of July he wrote, asking why ceremonies which were known from both the Old and New Testament and which many of the Fathers of the Church had witnessed about, should be despised. He finished the letter with a direct command to the Archbishop to abandon such fanaticism if he wished to retain his high vocation and office <118>. In order to facilitate the negotiations with the Archbishop, John had the day before ordered the bailiff at Uppsala Castle to allot six oxen and seventy sheep to the Archbishop <119>.

The Archbishop answered on the 8th of July that it was his duty to obey the King in everything which did not violate his conscience, but that he had never agreed to use anointing. He found this ceremony to be magical, superstitious and a violation to the conscience. He could, however, use it if the conceptions linked with the anointing and which could lead to schism and other evils were rejected. L.P.Gothus would rather return to civil life than to be the reason of such things. <120> Thus, in reality, L.P.Gothus joined the King's side, and on the 10th of July the King's secretary Erik Matson was sent with a letter of authority which entitled him to carry through the negotiations with the bishops about the changes <121>.

On the 14th of July the episcopal ordination was performed in Uppsala Cathedral. After the imposition of hands, during the Lord's Prayer, Bishop Juusten from Åbo anointed the Archbishop with oil on his head, saying that God should pour out his Holy Spirit over him, who was the oil of true joy, that he would have wise and Christian understanding in order to practise his vocation and office. After this the Bishop of Växjö placed the mitre on the head of Gothus, the Bishop of Strängnäs, put the ring on his right hand and the Bishop of Skara gave him the crozier. After this the Archbishop ordained the Bishops of Linköping and Västerås. <122>

It is probable that this ritual for the ordination of bishops was used also at the ordinations in 1577, 1582 and 1583 (possibly also in 1589) since the bishops at an episcopal synod in September 1583 assured the King that anointing would be used at the ordinations of priests too when this was possible and could be done without causing annoyance. <123> Thus, it seems as though John III succeeded in putting ordination anointing

into practice in Sweden, not only at a particular ordination of a bishop but several ordinations of clergymen and bishops in the country.

In the year 1592 John III died and a liturgical epoch (or parenthesis) in Swedish liturgical history was ended. The calvinistically minded Charles IX returned from his long journeys in Germany, and the exile anti-liturgist Abraham Angermannus was appointed Archbishop. At the Synod of Uppsala in 1593, Duke Charles and the synod majority agreed that all anointing should be excluded from liturgical practice and a return to the Church Order of 1571 in which anointing at ordination was rejected should be made. On the 19th of February 1594 Angermannus was ordained bishop without anointing, mitre, ring or crozier. <124>

In order to prepare for a rapprochement or a possible reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church, John III had during his years on the throne carried through profound liturgical changes in the Church in Sweden. The sacrificial motif in mass had been established, a new Church Order had been decreed which reinstituted many old customs and prescribed that the monasteries and convents should be rebuilt and, which has been shown here, the ordination of bishops had been restored to an outer likeness with that of the old pontifical - with anointing and the presenting of mitre, ring and crozier. Much of this work was done by the king in the year 1575. <125> These steps were encouraged by the catholics near to the King. As demands for a reunion, the King set up first the communion under both species and the preserving of the marriage of clergymen <126>. How did Rome interpret the ecclesiastical situation of Sweden and - it must here be asked - how did Rome's opinion of the Swedish ministry change after the ordinations of 1575? A letter from Cardinal Hosius to John III on the 7th of January gave a clear answer to this question. In the letter the cardinal expressed his joy because the King seemed to prepare the restoration of catholicism, but exhorted John and his people not to take communion since they would not receive the body and blood of Christ but only "baker's bread and wine" as the country lacked true priests <127>. The secretary of the Jesuit General, Antonius Possevino, who visited Sweden and John III said the same thing on his second visit. Furthermore, where there were no true bishops or true priests and no right administration of the sacraments, there it was difficult to believe in eternal glory, said Possevino before his departure in a conversation with the King on the 19th of June 1580 <128>. The King was advised against Lutheran communion by Laurentius Norvegus as well <129>.

In this context it is an important and overlooked fact that the Cardinal belonged to that shade of opinion within the Catholic Church which regarded both the imposition of hands and the anointing as necessary for a valid ordination and the preserving of the succession. According to the view of Cardinal Hosius the succession in the Swedish Church must have been broken when the practice of anointing was abandoned, and the right succession could not be restored through anointing since the bishops who performed the ordination of 1575 were not

themselves anointed and the ordination did not take place according to the ritual in the Roman pontifical.<130>

The Catholic accusation that Sweden should lack bishops and priests was so disturbing and widely known that the bishops complained about these sayings in a letter from Västerås on the 2nd of March 1585 <131>. From this the conclusion can be drawn that to the Roman Catholic Church it made no difference that John III made his liturgical and ecclesiastical reforms and reintroduced ordination anointing. The Church in Sweden lacked priests and bishops after the episcopal ordination of 1575 as well as before it <132>. The King's endeavours towards unity became a pretext for driving him still further, preferably into giving up his own demands and completely leave the Protestant way.

A closer study of the episcopal ordination of 1575 shows that the ritual which was followed closely resembled that of the Swedish Church Order, with the addition of the anointing and the presenting of the mitre, the ring and the crozier. The imposition of hands took place during the Lord's Prayer. The words "Accept the Holy Spirit" were not said, nor did the prayer of consecration or a preface of consecration seem to have occurred.

Only the head was anointed, not the hands as the Roman pontifical prescribed. Oil was used instead of chrism, according to the directions in the pontifical, and by all appearances it does not seem to have been consecrated <133>. The words which were said when the anointing was performed were with all probability, according to the wishes of the bishops, formulated in an evangelical direction so as not to cause annoyance. This formula has no likeness whatever with its equivalent in the Roman pontifical. All implications of a consecration taking place or of a conferring of something are missing, and in the formula God was made into the subject so that the possible tones of a magical act should be avoided. The wording has certain similarities with the formula which was used at the coronations of Eric XIV and John III when their heads and chests were anointed. It seems probable that the model of the ritual for the episcopal ordination of 1575 - as far as the anointing was concerned - was the Swedish coronation ritual.<134>

From this short investigation of the ordination ritual of 1575 it should be clear that John III hardly wished to resume the medieval pontifical tradition, the differences are here too fundamental. Neither is there anything that indicate that he at the ordinations of priests again took up the custom from the Roman pontifical of presenting the chalice and paten, which by many was held as the central act of the ordination of priests. It must be considered reasonable to assume that John III regarded the reintroduction of ordination anointing as one step in the rapprochement to the Catholic Church. If he thought that the anointing had any significance for the validity of the Swedish ministry, he was soon informed of the opposite by Cardinal Hosius. Rather, this anointing belonged with the work on the new liturgy of mass, with a renewed emphasis on the

sacrificial motif and on the minister as a sacrificial priest. <135> If the anointing had been considered as a crucial element for the validity of the ordination, it would have been important that he who performed the anointing was anointed himself. Bishop Juusten of Åbo was, according to the information, ordained according to Lutheran tradition <136>.

3.2.4. Conclusions.

The position of the ordination anointings during the Middle Ages was strong, and is confirmed in the printed editions of the Roman pontifical. During the entire reformation period there were no changes worth mentioning in the performing of these anointings. The foremost leaders of the Church of that time were uncertain of what the right and necessary acts of ordination were. At the Council of Trent, no real unanimity could be reached as to the form of the ordination, which can be seen in that the resolutions of the council had no consequences in the ritual of the pontifical. The 5th canon of the 23rd session bore the mark of a compromise which did not say anything about the relation between anointing and the validity of ordination, which was an important and controversial question at that time. One consequence of the uncertainty about what was required for a right ordination was that all of the acts included in the ordination were safeguarded and held as significant. Thus, when the English Church was reunited with the Catholic Church under Queen Mary, complete reordinations of those who had been ordained according to Protestant orders had to take place. A remarkable attempt at conciliation deserves to be brought here: the Swedish King John III who under the influence of the writings of Gerog Casssander and others <137> and on the basis of the reformational orders of the Church in Sweden tried to draw nearer to the Roman Catholic Church. John's failed attempt at unity once again showed that the Protestant ordinals could not be completed with parts of the Catholic pontifical, but were regarded as invalid and inefficacious. Thus, the King received the answer that Sweden lacked bishops and priests.

The conclusion which can be drawn here is that the ordination anointing obviously did not only cause problems for the reformers. The members of the Council of Trent were far from unanimous on the issue of this anointing, which is also shown by the resolution which concerned this. The council was not capable of dealing with Luther's criticism of the ordination anointing as a threat to the baptism, but the questions of the office as a sacerdotal priesthood and of the sacrifice of mass were debated the more thoroughly. In this context the anointing fitted in well although nothing was said about whether the practice of it was of importance for the validity of the ordination. The attitude of the Catholic Church concerning the validity of the ordination can be understood in the light of the reordinations in England and the attempts in Sweden to reinstitute the anointing. These examples indicate that the anointing could hardly by itself have influenced the view on the validity in either direction. Perhaps the development towards holding the intention of the ordination as

more important than the individual liturgical parts which followed could at this point already be discerned.

PLATES



PR 1582 Anointing of the Bishop's head. Uppsala Univ. Libr.



4. PR 1582 The Bishop's hands.



5. PR 1582 The Procession at the Consecration of the Oils.

4. AD FONTES

From the study of sources to reform.

The arguments presented by the fathers at the Council of Trent in defence of the anointing were, as has been shown earlier, badly founded. Evidence had been presented at the council that this anointing had been practiced ever since the earliest times of the Church, but the argumentation was based on unauthentic material and misinterpreted quotations taken out of their contexts. It was now only a matter of time before Catholic scholars would investigate more closely the circumstances of the demonstration of evidence which the reformers had questioned and rejected. What would the consequences be for the Catholic Church when the real state of things concerning ordination anointing became clear?

In this chapter the question will be raised how scholars in the Catholic Church during the 17th century followed up the criticism which the reformers had directed against ordination anointing among other things, by a return to the sources where they sought the answer of the question whether the arguments of the Council of Trent were tenable.

The debate which followed the research results, employing these, did not directly touch upon the ordination anointing and the problems associated with it. It did however come so close to questions of ordinations where the anointing had earlier been included in the discussion that parts of the debate will be gone through and investigated in this chapter.

The debate of the 18th and 19th centuries is significant as a background to the important decisions concerning the meaning and shape of the ordination rituals which were taken by the Catholic Church in the 20th century. These decisions came to involve the ordination anointing as well, its liturgical form and its meaning in relation to the other acts of the ordination liturgy. In this chapter the way from the problems with this anointing during the times of change up to the attempts of the Catholic Church to solve and remove the ordination problems in the 20th century will be presented and investigated.

4.1. Research.

During the 17th century the theological research began to

force its way beyond the great variety of legends and falsifications which had been brought forward in defence of anointing during the entire Middle Ages. The humanists of the previous century, such as Erasmus, had already raised questions concerning the authenticity of several of the writings which were considered to have originated in the earliest Christian times, but not until the research of the 17th century began to find its way back to the oldest manuscript material did the preposterousness in the accounts of later writings begin to appear. When the old reliable documents were put side by side with letters and sermons which were ascribed to old Fathers, the shadows of suspicion gathered over the falsified and "completed" works of later times. The scholars who have been of significance where it came to elucidating the ordination liturgy and to deepen the understanding of the problems of the position of anointing are mainly Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), Francois Hallier (1585-1659), Hugh Menard (1585-1644), Isaac Habert (1600-1668), John Morin (1591-1659) and Edmond Martene (1654-1739). Among these it was John Morin who not only could present and estimate the historical material and put the correct questions, but from his material he also drew conclusions which have proved tenable for later research on most main points. Morins analyses have influenced the views on ordination in the modern times.

The Jesuit Sirmond published *Concilia antiqua* in Paris in 1629, in which he among other things presented some letters from the time of Pope Nicholas I. *Concilia antiqua* was a compilation in three volumes of resolutions and correspondence, but Sirmond did not himself go into the material and analyse it. One letter was said to have been written in the year 858 during the pontificate of Nicholas I and was from the bishops who had participated in a synod to King Ludvig of Germany. The bishops wrote that they were sanctified to the Lord and not in any respect worldly human beings. With the hand anointed with holy chrism the bishop should make the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ from the bread and the wine mixed with water through prayer and the sign of the cross. The hand was abominable if it did this before the ordination <1>.

Some pages further on in the same volume Sirmond presented the earlier described letter from Nicholas I to Archbishop Rudolf in the year 864 in which the Pope pointed out that neither priests nor deacons were anointed in Rome and that they should not be anointed anywhere else either <2>.

The conclusions that can be drawn from these letters are that anointing of bishops possibly existed in Rome at that time. This was probably the conclusion that was reacted by Sirmond himself and was embraced by other 17th century scholars in France, which will soon be shown. If this anointing did not exist in Rome, two alternative conclusions remain - the synod of 858 was unknown to the Pope or this letter is a falsification.

In the year 1636 in Paris, Francois Hallier issued a far reaching investigation over the history of ordination - *De sacris electionibus ex antiquo et novo Ecclesiae uso*. The

anointing was presented in detail on the foundation of the Old Testament. Hallier established that the High Priest was anointed on his head and that the other priests were anointed on their hands <3>. With the aid of Jerome's commentary on Hosea, Hallier attempted to confirm this difference between the higher and the lower priesthood of the Old Testament <4>. King David and King Salomon were anointed with the oil of the High Priests and could therefore be considered as patterns for Christ <5>. Then Hallier asked five questions concerning anointing: if it had been an old custom among the Greeks to anoint the priests; if this custom existed among the early Latins; with which rite priests should be anointed; where this anointing was taken from and what it signified; and which other anointings resembled the episcopal and priestly anointings <6>. - As opposed to the theologians of the 16th century Hallier could not find that Dionysius spoke of the use of a true ordination anointing. Hallier claimed that neither episcopal anointing nor anointing at the ordination of priests were practiced among the early Greeks <6>. Neither could he find support for this anointing with Gregory of Nazians. Gregory of Nyssa could not be considered to speak of an anointing except in a figurative way. But since Metafrastes wrote that St. Nicholas and St. John Chrysostom were anointed bishops, Hallier wanted to draw the conclusion that anointing was used sporadically by the Greeks, especially after Constantinople came under Latin supremacy. <8>

Where the use of anointing in the Latin part of the Church was concerned Hallier was of the opinion that anointing existed in the early Roman Church. Hallier adduced the earlier mentioned letters of Anacletus and Clement and wrote that this rite had a confirming meaning for them. In this way Hallier showed that he put faith in the authenticity of these letters, but was careful as to how the contents should be understood. He wrote that no one could doubt that this anointing had been in practice since Gregory the Great, and in any case from the time of Charlemagne in the Western Church <9>.

Hallier showed greater hesitation concerning Cyprian's *De operibus Cardinalibus Christi*, where Hallier took a questioning attitude about the authenticity and in any case wished to interpret the mentioning of ordination anointing figuratively <10>. With the aid of Innocent III Hallier pointed out that the Church was not Judaizing when she used this sacrament <11>. For Hallier's own argumentation, the strong emphasis on anointing of Innocent III meant a great deal. Hallier wondered why the priest should be additionally anointed at his ordination when he had already been anointed three times (twice at baptism and once at confirmation). His answer was to claim, like Innocent III, that a divine command was involved and that the limbs which had already been anointed should not be anointed again. At his consecration the bishop was anointed to sit in the place of Christ. Hallier meant that the fullness of ministry could only be found in the bishop, and therefore only he should be anointed with chrism. <12> The purpose with the anointing of the hands of both the higher and the lower clergy was presented by Hallier in four points: in order to perform the duty and the ministry; for the works of mercy of love; in order to bless and

administer the sacraments; in order to bind and to absolve.
<13>

Finally Hallier dealt with the different anointings which resembled ordination anointing. He brought up the anointing of objects and of people at baptism, confirmation and the extreme unction, but mainly the coronation anointing and its development was deliberated. <14> In this context, Hallier rejected the conception that the king shared in the priesthood through coronation.

From this survey it is clear that Hallier knew more than the Fathers at the Council of Trent on at least one point. He wrote that anointing was not used by the early Greek Church and he was also undecided as to whether the Greeks introduced this practice later, and therefore designated it as "sporadic". Hallier had a fundamentally positive attitude towards the use of this anointing, and as Innocent III regarded it as a divine command, but all the same he was careful with the dating of its origin and did not go further back in time than to Gregory the Great, and would even consider dating its introduction as late as Charlemagne. It was no longer a question of an apostolic origin, as the falsification of the correspondence of Anacletus had wanted to make out. <16>

In 1642, the Benedictine Hugh Menard published in Paris what he thought was the Gregorian Sacramentary including among other things its rituals on ordination. The intention was praiseworthy and would have, had it been successful, succeeded in showing rituals for the ordinations of priests and bishops without any anointing. The MS which Menard used was, however, not at all of the age he had assumed but has showed to have been written in the 10th century and with a low ability to give a picture of an original Gregorian Sacramentary <17>. There was anointing both of the priest's hands - Consecrentur manus iste - and of the bishop's head in the preface at the words "Hoc, Domine, copiose" as well as of the bishop's hands <18>. Menard added a commentary to his text, in which he came to the conclusion that anointing was common at least from patristic times in both the Eastern and the Western parts of the Church <19>. Furthermore, Menard knew of the anointing of the head at the ordination of priests, this he identified as an Anglican practice <20>. In support of his conclusion about the dating of the origin of this anointing Menard brought forward a record from Augustin, which later has proved to have been written in the 9th century <21>, in which the priests were requested to remind themselves of their dignity, their consecration and the holy anointing with which their hands had been anointed <28>. Menard also supported himself on Amalar. As far as the practice of anointing at the ordination of bishops was concerned, Menard brought forward Augustine, Dionysius and Chrysostom <23>. The practice of adding a completing anointing of the thumb to the anointing of the bishop's hands was also known to Menard, as was the Anglican custom of two anointings of the head <24>.

The letter from Pope Nicholas I was mentioned by Menard with apparent astonishment that a Pope could have written anything like that <25>.

Despite his unprofitable choice of sources Menard stressed the significance of the imposition of hands at ordination <26> and his attempt to clarify the forms of the early ordinals was soon to have followers.

As early as the next year Isaac Habert issued a detailed investigation of the Greek orders in *Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae graecae*, Paris 1643. With this Hallier's suspicion that the Greeks did not recognize anointing at ordination was confirmed. Habert showed this by references to Dionysius, Maximus, the Apostolic Constitutions and the ordination formulas referred to by the Greek authors <27>. Habert also noted that the anointing which the Greeks wrote of was not received at ordination but at baptism as Chrysostom wrote in his second homily over 1 Tim. <28>. Habert pointed out that Gregory of Nazians, Gregory of Nyssa and Basil the Great wrote about anointing in connection with the priesthood, and that it for them too referred to baptism or to an inner, spiritual anointing. They could not be used to claim that an eternal practice of anointing at ordinations was employed in the Eastern Church. <29>

Habert turned against the usual interpretation of the often adduced letters of Clement and Anacletus in defence of anointing, and said that the letters had been subjected to misreadings and misjudgement <30>. He took a somewhat hesitant attitude towards the exhortation of Innocent III to the Bulgarians, who had, during the primacy of Nicholas I, detached themselves from the Greeks, to introduce ordination anointing because it was decreed through a divine command. If it was to be understood as founded on the law of the Old Testament it was truly a divine commandment, Habert wrote, but not according to the evangelical law. The Greek Churches did not know the necessity of such a command since they did not have such a custom. Innocent III knew no more about the apostolic origin of anointing than what was written in the third letter of Anacletus, Habert pointed out and continued by saying that furthermore, concerning the ordination of the apostles, one can only read about the imposition of hands. In the African Church nothing could be read about ordination anointing. Augustine, Optatus and Pacianus only mentioned it allegorically or in connection with baptism. <31> Habert wished to show that the imposition of hands was the essential matter of ordination (*materia essentiali*). For this he looked for the support of Bonaventura, Scotus, Ricardus, Paludanus and others and from Thomas Aquinas he took the information that the anointing only belonged to the preparation for the ordination. The Chancellor of the university of Louvain, Ruardus Tapper, also said in a reply to the Calvinistic arguments that there was no necessary anointing (*non habemus ... unctionem necessariam*). <32> In this treatment of ordination anointing Habert went so far in his questioning that he almost reached the position the Fathers in Trent had resolved to reject in the 23rd session where the intention with the 5th canon among other things was to underline against Calvin and Luther that this anointing was regarded as valuable. Habert did not even hesitate to make fun of one of the great counterreformers of the previous century

when he wrote that only a Cardinal Hosius of the Polish confession held the anointing as important <33>.

In 1655 the first edition of John Morin's commentary to the ordination of the Church was issued in Paris - *Commentaribus de sacris Ecclesiae ordinationibus*. Morin had behind him the research which had shown that ordination anointing was not known to the Greeks who instead emphasized the position of the imposition of hands. Morin confirmed as his opinion that neither the anointing of priests nor of bishops had ever been employed by the Greeks. He could find no trace of this rite either with the authors or in the prayers of blessing. If a Greek author had anywhere appeared to have spoken of an external anointing it would have been easy to explain this spiritually <34>. Morin brought forward examples by Gregory of Nazians and showed the connection between the anointing at baptism and the Old Testament anointing of priests in Chrysostom's second homily on 1 Tim. <35>. Among the Latins anointing was old, said Morin, but it was put into practice at ordinations of bishops rather than at ordinations of priests. Only in Gaul was this practice as old for the priests as for the bishops. There were two records which Morin brought up to support his conclusion that the anointing of bishops was earlier than that of priests. Firstly, he quoted Leo the Great, whom he considered not to be unclear, who had said that the ordination was clearer than that of the Levites, the dignity greater than that of the elders and the anointing more holy than that of the sacrificial priests, for the Cross was the source of all blessing <36>. Secondly he adduced the letter of Nicholas I who spoke against the anointing of priests and deacons but not against the anointing of bishops. Morin underlined that he did not regard this in any way in which it was accounted in the letter of Anacletus but that there was still reason to assume that the anointing of bishops had been practised long before the time of Nicholas I <37>. Morin was doubtful whether Anacletus' letter was concerned with a material anointing <38>. The priestly anointing, Morin claimed, was accepted a long time afterwards, and he assumed that Gaul was the place of origin because of the letter of Nicholas I to Bishop Rudolf in Gaul <39>. Morin attributed the anointing of the deacon's hands to be permitted in some places in England <40>. But nothing, Morin said, of what Nicholas I wrote contradicted the episcopal anointing - quite the contrary <41>. The records which later proved to have been falsified were treated with caution by Morin who exhorted his readers to take into consideration a spiritual interpretation of the letter of Anacletus and the tract of Cyprian on the most superior works of Christ <42>.

In the first place Morin wished to claim that the anointing was not part of the matter of ordination, but only the imposition of hands could be counted as right matter. He drew up the five usual ways of judging the essential part of ordination: 1) the scholasticism which claimed the tradition of instruments; 2) the tradition of instruments and the imposition of hands; 3) the imposition of hands as being necessary for the absolution and the tradition of instruments as necessary for consecration; 4) anointing and the imposition of hands; 5) the

imposition of hands alone.

Morin commented the fourth way of regarding the matter of ordination by giving Cardinal Hosius as an example of someone who embraced this view, despite the fact that the ordinations of the Greeks had been considered valid without anointing <43>. The fifth view of the right matter of ordination was Morin's own, and he wrote that this opinion only - the imposition of hands alone as the matter of ordination - has always been recognized in the entire Church, the Latin, the Greek and the Barbarian <44>. Before the 6th century the imposition of hands alone was held as the substance of the ordination of priests. The tradition of instruments was not known in early ordinals <45>. Morin counted three impositions of hands according to the directions in the pontifical. Two after the litanies and one towards the end - the first with both hands and in silence, the second with the right hand during a prayer and the third with the words of accepting the Holy Spirit and the power to absolve and to bind in sin. The last imposition with the words of accepting the Holy Spirit was considered by Morin to be most valuable and original and could be traced back to the apostles themselves. This in spite of the fact that Morin showed, it was unknown to the Greeks and had been added later by the Latins <46>. This imposition was held forward by Morin against Thomas Aquinas who had taken the view that if an ordination had been carried through without this imposition and the accompanying words, it did not need to be repeated <47>.

After his study of the matter of ordination Morin continued to treat the position of the imposition of hands during Old Testament and Jewish times, and among other things wished to show that the Church had adopted some parts of the instalments of rabbis in her ordinals <48>.

With John Morin it became increasingly difficult to maintain the opinion of the Fathers of the Council of Trent that anointing at the ordination of priests was known to the whole Church and could be traced back to the apostles and was therefore to be regarded as an ancient apostolic tradition. Morin showed clearly and unambiguously that this anointing was unknown to the Greeks and had probably been first put into practice in Gaul. Only the imposition of hands could rightly be said to be that which had commonly been held as the central part of the ordination of priests by all parts of the Church.

Edmond Martene published a review of the oldest liturgical orders of the Church in three volumes - *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* - in Rouen in the years 1700-1702. Martene, who was one of the great historians and liturgists of his time, also dealt with the problems of ordination but did not come any further than Morin had done before him. Martene did not date the origin of ordination anointing back to apostolic times, but mentioned pontificals which were held to be of considerable age (the 3rd and the 6th century) in which anointing occurred <49>. Martene interpreted the letter of Pope Nicholas I to Rudolf (Martene: the Archbishop of Bulgaria) so that it was not the custom of the Roman Church to anoint the hands of the priests or the deacon, but that this practice existed in other places and had

eventually come into and received a position in the order of the Roman Church <50>. In this context Martene referred to Amalar and Theodulf who had early spoken in favour of anointing. Martene could not, however, avoid to observe that Nicholas supported the Gelasian order which, according to Martene, left out the said anointing at the ordination of priests <51>.

In this judgment of ordination anointing Martene's opinion was close to Morin's, and through his method of carefully scrutinizing ordination rituals in different MSS he reached a profound perception of the Gelasian Sacramentary and showed that this anointing was not included there - or, expressed in Martene's way, was left out. Moreover, Martene displayed knowledge about the English tradition of also anointing the head of the priests. He had found this in, among other documents, the pontifical of Egbert, and had observed a spreading of it to some Gallic Churches <52>.

4.2. Debate.

Morin's outstanding work soon became known and was used in the debate. This is shown by the fact that several Anglican authors of the 17th century and onwards referred to Morin in order to defend the validity of the Anglican ritual. As early as 1677 G. Burnet used Morin to support his account in defence of the Anglican ordinations <1>, and in 1688 the Bishop of Norwich, H. Priedeaux, referred to both Morin and Hallier in his book on the validity of the English ministry <2>, and Th. Comber proved to know thoroughly the arguments of Morin in the year 1699 <3>. Roman Catholic authors in England also made use of Morin's research without delay, but in order to refute the Anglicans with his help. One example was Peter Talbot, later Archbishop of Dublin, who issued a publication in 1657 in which he criticized the Anglican rituals, particularly the ordinal of 1552, for not stating clearly enough at the consecration that the ordinand became a priest or a bishop. The formulations linked to the imposition of hands were accused of not expressing distinctly what kind of office was being given. <4>

In a few years Morin's epoch-making work changed the ordination debate from its earlier having been partly concerned with the giving of the signs of the ministry and with anointing, into dealing with the words pronounced in connection with the imposition of hands. This new way of thinking was to make its mark on the following centuries.

Another Roman Catholic theologian who was often quoted or contradicted in the English debate about ministry was the influential Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. He had already produced a great amount of apologetic literature in the beginning of the 17th century. On the question of ordination he preceded the French ordination scholars by placing the imposition of hands in the centre but at the same time emphasized so strongly that the ministry and the ordination authority emanated from the Holy See that he came close to the later ultramontanistism. <5>

During the 18th and 19th centuries there were several French contributions both to research and to debate about ordination. In the year 1723 the French Catholic priest P.F. le Courayer published a thoroughly composed defence of the Anglican ministry in two volumes - *Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordination des Anglois*. With evidence from rituals of the Early Church and the Eastern Church and with Morin's arguments Courayer defended the validity of the Anglican ritual. Despite the fact that this ordination was schismatic it was valid, said Courayer, since it included all that was required so that the ministry should be passed on - the imposition of hands and the prayer for the Holy Spirit. With Morin Courayer rejected that the tradition of instruments or the anointing should be essential for ordination, but he was forced to turn against Morin's opinion that the ordination would lose its catholicity and validity if parts of the ritual were left out. Morin had expressed this thought which Courayer rejected in the following words:

That in the rite of sacred Ordination some things are of divine institution ... some again of Ecclesiastical institution, which although they may be changed, and according to the variety of times and countries be variously observed, are yet of so great moment, so long as they are not revoked or abrogated by the Church, that their omission makes an Ordination not merely discreditable and unlawful, but also vain and null, and void of all effect and grace. But all these things are conditions of such a kind, so affective and determining the matter of the Sacrament, that by their defect the matter is rendered unfit for Ordination.

Courayer was of the opinion that Morin did not support his arguments enough on this issue. Courayer did agree and, like Morin, thought that a right intention was necessary for the validity. If certain parts of the ritual were omitted so as to express a different intention, this was a threat to the ordination. Since the intention was only manifest by the prescribed ceremonies, and since the intention was essential for the sacrament, it would mean a nullity to omit the ceremonies. But as opposed to Morin, Courayer took the view that if the ritual was changed through necessity or external compulsion or if a case of emergency came up, the judgement had to be different. He referred to the ritual for baptism of the Church, which could be used to perform a valid baptism with a minimum of ceremonies if this was required through external circumstances. Thus Courayer defended the validity of the Anglican ministry against the thesis of invalidity caused by omissions in the ritual - which also concerned the anointing.<6>

Le Courayer was elaborately contradicted in the following years by J. Hardouin and M. le Quin, and in the 1720's evidence and arguments about what was required for a valid

ordination and whether the Anglican Church had a priesthood in the Catholic sense opposed each other in volume upon volume.<7> The Catholic theologians who rejected the validity of the Anglican ordination also claimed that the only necessary act was the imposition of hands. Possibly Hardouin diverged a little on this point and took the view that in the Western Church the tradition of instruments had belonged together with the imposition of hands by tradition <8>.

The agreement in the views of what was necessary for the actual act of ordination could usually be found in the debate and was clearly to be noted later in the bull of Pope Leo XIII *Apostolicae Curae* 1896. The criticism mainly turned against another aspect of the ordination, namely what was said (and what was not said) and what was intended with the act (the intention). The English order was not considered to state clearly enough that those who were ordained received the power and authority to be priests and bishops in the Catholic sense, and the order as a whole was considered to lack distinct expressions which showed that the ministry was the same ministry as that of the Catholic Church. Most of all, criticism was directed against the fact that the concept of the relation of the priesthood to the Old Testament sacerdotal office had been almost removed through the ordinals of 1552 and 1662. This was on several occasions brought forward as a proof that the English Church now had a different ministry and that the intention of the ordination was no longer to have priests of the same kind as those of the rest of the Christian world. This erroneous intention with the ordination would make a recognizing of the priests of the Church of England as equal with Catholic priests impossible.

During the 19th century the ordination debate became heated and many French priests and scholars wrote for or against the English ministry with different points of view about what was required for a valid ordination. <9> None of them thoroughly brought up the problem of anointing in the debate or defended its position in the ordination.

In the Anglican Church there had since the time of the reformation been a theology of holy orders which regarded the Anglican priesthood as a direct continuation of the medieval priesthood and therefore principally as the same office as that which was found in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. The theologians of the 16th century generally began by describing the development of the office from the New Testament and onwards through the centuries. In this the medieval development of the priesthood in the Western Church was criticized in a manner typical of the time, but the important point was that it was all the time maintained that despite all misuses it was still the same New Testament office which had been passed on from the time of the apostles and had been cleansed from what was considered erroneous by the reformation. In this way Saravia (1531-1631) regarded the Anglican office during the later half of the 16th century as the same office as that of the rest of the Church, and emphasized the catholicity of the Church of England. In this respect Saravia was a forerunner of the High Church movement in England and wrote

expressly about the divine origin of the episcopal office and the hierarchy. <10> Saravia was considerably more careful where the connection with the Old Testament priesthood was concerned and wrote that Christ has brought all the ceremonies of the old covenant with all their external glory to an end

... the times are altered: that at this day under the gospel, the Priesthood is translated into Christ, whose shadow it was: that hee hath imposed an end to all outward rites: by which means the right of tything, is also antiquated with the Priesthoode, and all that outward glorie which made the antique Priests more honorable is therewithall eclipsed.<11>

When F. Mason described the Roman accusations and the English defence of the Anglican holy orders in 1613 he already assumed at this time, before Morin, that the anointing was not essential but called it "accidentall". He formulated the main Roman accusation by writing that the English Church gave no authority to offer the sovereign sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ at the ordination <12>. With Mason, as with Savaria, the thought of and defence of the English holy orders was that they were the same as those of other Churches.

With W. Hume in 1710, there was not only a powerful defence of the catholicity of the English office, but also an attempt to seek the origin of the office in the Old Testament. In his work The Sacred Succession Hume wrote about the Church in the New and the Old Testament and about her priests <13> in such a way that it can be suspected that he took the view that it was the same Church and the same office with the only difference that that was before Christ was a model of that which would then be perfected. Hume emphasized that the Church of England had apostolic succession, but rejected the concept of a valid office in the Northern European Lutheran countries, including Sweden.<14>

The following year G. Hickes published Two Treatises, one of the Christian Priesthood, the other of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order. Here, Hickes defended the Judaic elements of the divine service. In reply to earlier questions Hickes wrote polemically, wondering if it was not known that the founder of Christianity was a Jew and that the apostles were Jews who were well acquainted with the scriptures and the Jewish religious rites and traditions. Did he who had asked the questions not know that Christianity was simply mystical of reformed Judaism, and that Christ, when he taught his disciples, used the words "altar", "gift", "offering" and "sacrifice" <15>?

During the 19th century, the movement in the Anglican Church which stressed that the Anglican holy orders were the same as the Roman Catholic ones grew stronger, and it became increasingly common to find that the office was considered to be of Old Testament origin and to be a sacerdotal office. T.H. Carter expressed this view frankly in 1857 in the Doctrine of the Priesthood in the Church of England. He wrote that the laws

which regulated the Levitical sacrifices, which were typical in all details, gave the true key to the underlying principle of the system in all variations <16>. It was the same principle, Carter wrote, as when Aaron, burning incense in his censer "stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed" (Numb. XVI, 48), and Estius, commenting on ch.viii, ver.6 of the Epistle to the Hebrews gave the same definition though in fuller detail, saying that it was the office of the priest to be the mediator between God and man. Carter wrote further, with a reference to the above mentioned Hickee who had expressed the same ideal in his Christian Priesthood Asserted, founded on St. Paul's statement in Hebr. 5,1, describing a priest as one who stood in the presence of God among men to perform divine offices for them and reconcile them to God and God to them for their benefit, or to obtain graces and favours from God to men <17>.

For those who had defended the catholicity of the Anglican holy orders, and particularly for those who had claimed that this office was a sacerdotal office, the bull of Pope Leo XIII Apostolicae Curae came as a bad set-back. In this bull it was stated that all ordinations which had been performed according to the Anglican rituals were null and void, and that therefore no priests or bishops in the Catholic sense existed in the Anglican Church <18>. The bull based on the earlier described criticism which had been brought forward by Paul IV and the French 18th century critics. As the reason for the resolution it was adduced that the Anglican ordinations showed both a defect of form and a defect of intention. The imposition of hands was held as the matter of the ordination, but had to be combined with a clearly expressed intention <19>, and the form which had been considered sufficient by the Anglicans - the words about accepting the Holy Spirit - certainly did not signify definitely the order of priesthood (sacerdotium) or its grace and power <20>. With this, the Roman Church officially opposed for the first time that which Morin had claimed in his research on the form and matter of ordination, where he had considered precisely the imposition of hands together with the words mentioned here as the most central part of the ordination of priests.

The main criticism in the bull consisted in that there in the whole ordinal was not only no clear mention of sacrifice, of consecration, of priesthood, of the power to consecrate and offer sacrifice, but every trace of these and similar things remaining in the Catholic rite had been purposely removed and obliterated <21>.

The serious point was that the prayers of ordination had been deliberately stripped of everything which in the Catholic rite clearly set forth the dignity and functions of the priesthood. Therefore it was considered impossible to regard the Anglican order as sufficient, as it did not even express that which should signify the priesthood.<22>

In order to further underline the importance of this resolution Leo XIII ended his bull with the words "the present Letter ... shall be now and for ever in the future valid and in

force" <23>.

The accusations which were directed against the Anglican holy orders in Apostolicae Curae went against the fact that the sacerdotal function of the minister was not stated distinctly enough, or rather, was not to be found at all. It was striking that it was not at all mentioned in the bull how the Anglican ordinations should be mended apart from expressing the position and duties of the priest more clearly in words. One of the most conspicuous ways to manifest the sacerdotal office would have been to use anointing, but this was not mentioned with a word, probably because the previous research had showed that a valid ordination was possible without anointing.

An intense debate around the papal bull followed, with an immense number of writings in defence of the pope's condemnation or against it. Those who had earlier promoted the idea of a sacerdotal office in the Anglican Church naturally made further attempts at this time to show that the concept had not been abandoned in England. Thus R.C. Moberly wrote in 1897 in Ministerial Priesthood that "the Church of Christ as exhibited in the New Testament, is priestly and sacrificial in substance, as the Church of the Old Testament was only in figure" <24>. In Ministerial Priesthood Moberly did not only speak of the people of God as a priestly race who was to offer spiritual sacrifices. For Moberly, the priest held a special position as the representative and organ of the whole body. The Christian priest did not offer an atoning sacrifice on behalf of the Church. It is rather the Church through his act that not so much "offers an atonement" as "is identified upon earth with the one heavenly offering of the atonement of Christ" <25>.

As far as the abolishing of anointing at the reformation was concerned, H.H. Jeaffreson defended this in the same year against those who claimed that it had been done in order to change the intention of the ordination. If the omission of the anointing was no denial of the Holy Spirit, then the other omission (the tradition of instruments - auth.com.) did not inevitably mean a denial of the sacrificial office. <26>

This pronounced avoidance of denying the sacrificial concept could also be found in the reply of the Anglican bishops to the Pope's bull which was published in February 1897 and was called, after its introductory words, Saepius Officio. The main work had been done by John Wordsworth, then Bishop of Salisbury, and Archbishop Fredrick Temple had also taken part in the drawing up of the important chapter XI. <27> In this chapter the bishops underlined that the Anglican Church taught that the mass was a sacrifice. "Furhter we truly teach the doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice and do not believe it to be a 'nude commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Cross'." This sacrifice was defined in the same chapter. In mass, praise and thanksgiving were sacrificed, "we plead and represent before the Father the sacrifice of the cross" and "lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves". <28> Thus, the Anglican bishops rejected the Pope's accusation that the concept of the sacrifice was lacking in the Anglican ordination and with this continued the tradition which had wished to keep the connection

with the Catholic office. Unlike *Apostolicae Curae*, Saepius Officio brought up the anointing a couple of times. In article XVIII in which the development of the ordination was described the bishops stressed that the anointing was no Roman tradition but a Gallic and British one. It was also pointed out that there was no anointing in any of the early Roman orders, such as the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries.<29> The re-Catholization of Queen Mary was also dealt with, and in article VI the bishops wrote about the ministers who had been anointed according to the new ordinals during the reign of King Edward that some were re-ordained, receiving anointing to which some bishops at that time attached great importance, in order to supplement their previous ordination.<30> In the note to this article the well-known quotation from John Pilkington which had just been discovered was used in the defence of the Anglican office.

I.A. Lacey worked in Rome at this time with several other Anglicans for a recognition of the Anglican orders. In *A Roman Diary* he described how Canon Ross-Lewin, in a letter to him of the 15th of May 1896, had brought forward that which Pilkington had written, saying that it could be used to show that the ordinations according to the ordinals of 1550 and 1552 could be accepted during the time of Mary with only a supplementary anointing. Canon Ross-Lewin had earlier sent the quotation to the Bishop of Stepney who had recognized its negotiability.<31>

Although it was clear through previous works of scholars that the anointing had not been linked with the validity of the ordination in the Early Church and had not been generally practised, this did not stop the Jesuit S. Smith from regarding the anointing as an expression of the concept of the sacerdotal priest at ordination in *Reasons for rejecting Anglican Orders*, 1895. When he described what was abandoned in the reformational orders he took up the anointing, saying that the ceremony and the accompanying, beautiful prayers of the pontifical, which distinctly asserted the conveyance of a sacerdotal gift were omitted.<32>

The latest attempt to restore a justification of the anointing at Anglican ordinations was also made in order to emphasize the concept of the priesthood as a sacerdotal office related to the Old Testament. In connection with the work on a revision of the Anglican Ordinal in 1922, English Church Union wished for a reinstitution not only of the anointing of the hands of the priest and the hands and head of the bishop, but also of the tradition of instruments which had been excluded from the ritual in 1552.<33>

The Catholic view that the giving of the power to sacrifice should be formulated and expressed visibly at ordination was confirmed by C. Cronin in 1930 in *The Christian Priesthood*. He wrote that it was proper that this spiritual power should also be conferred through concrete means, such as certain formulations and actions, for example the imposition of hands, anointing, the presenting of the book or the chalice, etc.<34>

That the Anglican debate on holy orders could be difficult to penetrate and sometimes verging on pettiness with all its details and interpretations of documents even in the eyes of such a distinguished theologian as John Henry Newman could be gathered when he wrote in 1868:

The enquiry into Anglican Orders has ever been to me of the class which I must call dreary; for it is dreary surely to have to grope into the minute intricate passages and obscure corners of past occurrences in order to ascertain whether this man was ever consecrated, or that man used a valid form, or a certain sacramental intention came up to the mark, or the report, or register of an ecclesiastical act can be cleared of suspicion. On giving myself to consider the question, I never have been able to arrive at anything higher than a probable conclusion, which is most unsatisfactory except to antiquarians, who delight in researches into the past for their own sake.<35>

The debate about the form and intention of the English ordination was mainly conducted between English and French theologians, but questions of holy orders and ordination were also discussed in other countries in Europe. The Church of England was of interest to the Church of Sweden who also followed the ordination debate which has been related here. The contacts between Sweden and England were intensified in the 19th century when English theologians observed that the succession of the imposition of hands had been preserved in Sweden. This contact led up to the intercommunion agreement of 1922 and an interchange of assisting bishops at ordinations of bishops in the Church of Sweden and the Church of England. In Germany too, an important discussion was conducted in the Lutheran Churches during the 19th century about the ordination in the Lutheran context, and on this issue there were many points of contact and an exchange of opinion. This latter debate did not, however, touch on questions about the apostolic succession or such problems at ordination which motivated the bringing up of the subject of anointing to such a high degree as the former.

In the year 1704 in Oxford, a Swedish churchman wrote about the differences between the Swedish and the English Church, and in doing this showed apparent interest for the views on holy orders in the Church of England. He particularly praised Hooker's well-known "The Laws of Ecclesiastical polity" and wished that an equivalent work could have existed in Sweden. He thought that what Hooker had written about the episcopal office, which strongly emphasized the hierarchic structure of the Church, was better than anything else that he had read on this subject <36>. The issue of the apostolic succession was not, however, dealt with in this context. In 1718 there was an invitation from the bishops of the Anglican Church to the Church in Sweden to a union between the

Protestant Churches. Joh. Gezelius the Younger in Åbo wrote in the reply of the Swedish bishops and was obliging towards the proposal, which could not, however, be realized, and expressed the opinion that the Church in Sweden as well as the Church of England had *ordo episcopalis* according to the early way of Christianity. Gezelius, too, displayed knowledge of Hooker's work and agreed with its fundamental ideas.<37> In Germany C.M. Pfaff brought up the question of apostolic succession in 1722, but he claimed that the doctrinal succession was superior to the succession of the imposition of hands, and that the doctrinal succession only was the criterion of the true Church. In the year 1738 Henrik Benzelius presented a thesis in Lund, with the succession as the main problem - *Meletema historico-theologicum de successione episcoporum canonica apud evangelicos praesertim in Svecia*. Benzelius agreed with Pfaff's conception that only the doctrinal succession was necessary to the Church and turned against the Catholic Church which lacked the right doctrinal succession but had the succession of the imposition of hands, which as a result of this completely lacked any value. In the thesis it was underlined that the imposition of hands was the correct matter of ordination, but it was rejected that it should be absolutely necessary although it was to be used under ordinary circumstances. One of the significant points in Benzelius' work was that he claimed that the Church in Sweden had that very hierarchic succession which was demanded by the Catholic Church.<38> Professor Erik M. Fant in Uppsala also found in his investigation of the succession in Sweden - *De successione canonica et consecratione episcoporum Sveciae*, 1790 - that the Church in Sweden had preserved the succession since the introduction of Christianity into the country.

The Swedish authors referred to the Anglican succession debate and claimed that both Churches had maintained the old succession of the imposition of hands as Rome required. As a result of the contacts with other Churches, the ordination rituals in Sweden were changed during the 19th century and the position of the office confirmed. At the ordination of bishops the presenting of the pectoral, crozier and mitre (but no ring or gospel-book) was introduced, and at the ordination of priests, the old designation "office of preaching" was changed throughout the ordinal to "office of priesthood". As earlier, the presenting of the Testimony of Ordination and the vesting in the chasuble took place immediately before the imposition of hands while *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was sung.

The position of the imposition of hands in the Church of Sweden was strengthened in the ordination theology during the later part of the 19th century. This is clearly evident in the investigation written by Olof Holmström about the Lutheran ordination, published in Lund 1888-89. Holmström went against the idea that the ordination should be a sacrament working "*ex opere operato*" and against giving it an Old Testament, Levitic character. He took the view that the Word, the medium and gift of the Spirit, more and more had had to retreat in favour of external ceremonies, tonsure, investiture, anointing, etc <39>. Holmström could not, however, find any difference between Lutherans and Catholics as far as the position of the

imposition of hands in the ordination was concerned. He considered it to be the "constituting element" in the ordination, through which the grace and power of God were conveyed <40>. He could even write that through the imposition of hands the sacramental gift was really acquired, which alone, or at least in the first place, was capable of making the ordinand able to carry out his office and discharge the duties which had been given to him <41>.

A. Nicholson, who had been Consular Chaplain in Gothenburg published a small investigation in London in the year 1880 on the apostolical succession in the Church of Sweden. In his work Nicholson defended the Swedish succession and thoroughly treated the material from the 16th century which dealt with this. In doing so, he drew attention on several occasions to the significance of anointing both at the coronation of King Gustaf I and at ordination. With a reference to Reuterdaahl Nicholson stated that it was judged as unreasonable that bishops who were not consecrated or anointed should confer the king's office to him <42>. Nicholson showed the interest of Gustaf I in this context to obtain bishops who had been properly consecrated and anointed according to the old ordinal <43>. Intimate knowledge of the reinstitution of anointing at Swedish ordinations by John III was also displayed by Nicholson, who assumed that chrism had been taken into use then <44>. He directed particular attention on Bishop Paul Juusten who performed the anointing at the episcopal ordination of the year 1575, and elucidated Juusten's ordination, life and written works <45>. Nicholson's surprising knowledge of the use of anointing in Sweden may imply he was of the opinion that a description of the use of ordination anointing was part of a complete account of the question of apostolic succession in Sweden.

Later scholars who have worked with the problem of the apostolic succession in Sweden have also dealt with this anointing. In an article 1944, the Jesuit van Haag entered on the use of anointing at ordinations commanded by John III and claimed that the King with many of his contemporaries had regarded this anointing as the characteristic element of the Catholic consecration of bishops <46>. This anointing would, to the king, have been of significance for the succession. Van Haag did not share that view but held the imposition of hands as the right matter of ordination. His conclusion in the investigation was therefore that it was undisputable that the Church in Sweden had maintained a material succession with an unbroken series of impositions of hands. He said that this separated the Church of Sweden from almost all Protestant Churches and through this a valuable religious side of the office had been preserved in Sweden. Van Haag was, however, doubtful about the Swedish ordinations from the theological point of view and raised the question whether they were really ordinations in the Catholic sense. <47> S. Kjöllnerström, B. Stolt and R. Askmark have also, during the 20th century, worked with the problems around the Swedish ordinations, but have not in the same way observed the position of anointing.

4.3. Decisions.

In November 1947 the Roman Catholic Church made two statemanets in succession which clearly stated for the first time that the imposition of hands alone was the right matter of ordination.

The encyclical letter of Pius XII "Mediator Dei " dated the 20th of November dealt with the holy liturgy of the Church. Throughout the encyclical the function and office of the priest were repeated several times. In the introduction itself it was said that Christ, the High Priest, had instituted a visible priesthood to offer a clean oblation everywhere as a continuation of his own prayers and sacrifices. The foundation of liturgy was considered to be Christ's sacrifice on the Cross which was renewed on the altar only with a difference in the manner of offering.<1>

The sacrificial ministry of the Old Testament was in Mediator Dei considered to be a shadow of the sacrifice which Christ would bring to his heavenly Father. "The Church, therefore, has one and the same purpose, office, and function as the Incarnate Word: to teach truth to all men, to rule and guide them aright, to offer to God a pleasing and acceptable sacrifice, and so re-establish between creatures and their sovereign Creator the close relation of harmony" <2>. Despite the fact that Mediator Dei thus wished to indicate the relation between the priests of the Church and those of the Old Testament, it was underlined that the office of the Church was passed on through the imposition of hands and not in the way which has been told about the consecration of the Aronitic priesthood. Only the apostles and those who have after them in a proper way from them or their successors received the imposition of hands possessed the priestly power in virtue of which they stood before their people as the representatives of Christ and before God as the vice-regents of the people <3>. -The encyclical also described how the sacrifice was offered in the Church for the faithful by the priest, but that the faithful were also offering the sacrifice with the priest. It was underlined, however, that this did not mean that all the members of the Church performed the visible rite like the priest. The faithful people offered sacrifice together with him in that they were united in praise, entreaty, expiation and thanksgiving.<4>

In the apostolic constitution from the 30th of November 1947, Sacerdotium Ordinis, it was more closely stated what was to be considered the form and matter in the ordinations of deacons, priests and bishops. This constitution is of great importance from the liturgical and doctrinal point of view because a five hundred years old uncertainty and indistinctness was solved here through an authoritative establishing of the correct terms. In the constitution it was mentioned that questions and problems had appeared because it had not been clear which rites in the ordination were significant and which had been less important. The difference between the Roman and the Greek ordination rites had not made this question

easier.<5>

Now it was clearly announced what the true form and matter of ordination were. For the ordinations of deacons, priests and bishops, only the imposition of hands was considered as matter. In the ordination of priests, the first imposition was expressly intended, the one which took place in silence. The final imposition of hands in the ritual which was accompanied by the words "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remisieris peccata, etc." was rejected as matter. The words in the ordination preface were held as the form, and for validity at least the words from "Da, quesumus" up to and including "insinuet" were required.<6>

At the ordination or consecration of bishops, the imposition of hands alone, as has been mentioned above, was regarded as matter. The form was the words in the preface of consecration where only the words from "Complete" until and including "sanctifica" were considered indispensable. Here, Sacramentum Ordinis referred to the apostolic constitution *Episcopalis Consecrationis* of the 30th of November 1944 in which the two assisting bishops should be regarded as co-consecrators (*consecratores*) and not only participate in the imposition of hands but also pronounce the words of accepting the Holy Spirit and take part in the prayer "Propitiare", the whole preface of consecration and also in other respects act as co-consecrators.<7>

The sixth article which dealt with the shape of the ordination should particularly be observed here. There it was established that the imposition of hands should be performed through physical touch, but the important and interesting sub-clause was added that for the validity of the sacrament it was sufficient with only a "moral" touch, i.e. the outstretched hand of the bishop with no direct physical contact <8>. This article bears witness of the development which had taken place in the Catholic Church where the performing of the ordination is concerned where a century earlier the entire ordination had to be repeated in full if some words of the ritual had been omitted or if the chasuble or the chalice and paten had not been presented or if the anointing had not been performed. In the sixth article of this constitution the imposition of hands was established as the only matter of ordination, but even a "moral" touching could be considered sufficient.

In order not to complicate what had taken place in the Catholic Church during centuries of problems around the ordination, it was also announced in the constitution that it had no retroactive effect <9>. Behind the much longed-for clarifying of the form and matter of ordination by Pius XII was of course the research and debate of the immediately preceding centuries. Just before the publication of the constitution and the encyclical in the winter of 1947, two Catholic scholars particularly had distinguished themselves by emphasizing the imposition of hands in the ordination. In 1944 Cardinal Willem von Rossum published the work *De essentia sacramenti ordinis disquisito historico-theologica*, in which the main thesis was exactly that the imposition of hands and prayer were the

sacramental characteristics of ordination which had been instituted by Christ and tradated with apostolic authority <10>.

In the same way, the Jesuit H. Lennerz maintained the same thesis in his dogmatic account *De sacramento ordinis*, which was issued in the year 1947. Only the imposition of hands with the invocation of the Holy Spirit was the essential rite in the sacrament of ordination. <11>

Lennerz went through what had been held as the essential part of ordination at different times and in different Churches and showed that ever since the scholastics there had been different opinions in this question. Lennerz brought forward the anointing among that which had been considered important for the ordination and mentioned when the anointing of the head and hands had been introduced at the ordinations of bishops, when the anointing of the hands had been brought into the Roman rite at the ordination of priests and also named some theologians and leaders of the Church who had written about these anointings. <12> - Because of the clarification of the right form and matter of ordination in 1947 and the imposition of hands which, as a result of this, came to be brought forward as the only essential act, a liturgical revaluation of the ordination rite had to take place. Therefore some new directions and comments which were mainly intended to strengthen the liturgical position of the imposition of hands, came from the Congregation of Rites after 1947. <13>

When the Second Vatican Council was opened in 1962 it was clear already on the first day of the counciliar debate, the 22nd of October 1962, that the Catholic Church was facing a radical liturgical reform. In the Constitution on the Sacreĉ Liturgy, promulgated on December 4, 1963, it was resolved that both the ceremonies and the texts of the ordination rites were to be revised. Henceforward the bishop should be able to pronounce the addresses at the beginning of each ordination in the vernacular. It was also resolved in this constitution that the imposition of hands at the consecration of a bishop might be done by all the bishops present. <14> - The Second Vatican Council also took resolutions on the offices of the bishops and priests in two decrees, *Christus Dominus* and *Presbyterorum Ordinis*. In these resolutions the office of the bishop was made the full office of the Church, with priests and deacons as assistance to this office. Previously, the office of the priest had been regarded as the office of the Church, which had been apparent in, for instance, the Council of Trent where the discussions about the office of the Church mainly dealt with the priest.

The bishops have by the Holy Spirit been installed as the successors of the apostles as pastors of souls, and together with the Pope they are commissioned to perpetuate the work of Christ, the eternal Pastor. By virtue of the Holy Spirit who has been given to them, the bishops have been constituted true and authentic teachers of the faith and have been made pontiffs and pastors <15>. By virtue of their sacramental consecration and through their hierarchic communion with the episcopal

college and the Pope, their leader, they are constituted members of the episcopal body <16>.

In the decree about the priests it was said that the function of the bishop's ministry was handed over in a subordinate degree to them so that they might be appointed in the order of the priesthood and be co-workers of the episcopal order <17>. For this investigation about the ordination anointing, the decree on the priesthood of the Second Vatican Council is of special importance since the office of the priest was throughout described as a ministry with the aid of references to the New Testament, and the description of the priest's office as an office in the Old Testament sense existed most sparingly. Instead it spoke of the Lord Jesus who makes his whole Mystical Body sharer in the anointing of the Spirit with whom he had been anointed: for in that body all the faithful are made a holy and kingly priesthood, they offer spiritual sacrifices to God through Jesus Christ and they proclaim the virtues of him who has called them out of darkness into his admirable light <18>. In this decree the council pronounced, with a reference to the baptism, about the position of the priests in the community of the faithful who are themselves a royal priesthood that the priesthood of priests, while presupposing the sacraments of initiation, is nevertheless conferred by its own particular sacrament. Through the ordination the priest was signed by a special character by the anointing of the Holy Spirit and was thus configured to Christ so that he was able to act in the person of Christ <19>. The sacraments of initiation - baptism and confirmation - through which the priest had already been incorporated in the chosen generation and become part of the communion of the body of Christ was presupposed here. The decree alluded to 1 Pet. 2,5 and 9 in its description of the Church as a people of kings, priests and prophets, where the priests were not separated from the people but representing Christ in a community which they themselves had entered into before. It is certainly true that the priests of the New Testament were set apart in some way in the midst of the people of God by their vocation to ordination, but in the decree this was not considered to imply that they should be separated from that people or from any man but that they should be completely consecrated to the task for which God had chosen them. The council took the view that it was not possible for them to be servants of God if they were not witnesses of another life than that on earth, but on the other hand they would be powerless to serve the people if they were separated from their life and conditions.<20> This idea that the priest was one in a people on the way to greater maturity was carried throughout the decree Presbyterorum Ordinis, together with the view that liturgical ceremonies in themselves, no matter how beautiful they were, served no purpose if they were not bent on this common goal <21>.

With the resolution of the council about a revision of the ordination rituals and with the decrees about the office of the bishop and the priest, the concrete work on drawing up the new orders for the Catholic Church was begun. A significant study of sources had been done in the preceding decades by Andrieu

and Leroquais, and this was employed to map out the development of the ordination ritual in the Catholic Church. In time for the beginning of the Second Vatican Council Bruno Kleinheyer in Trier published his thesis on the ordination of priests in Roman rite, a thesis which he had written some years earlier under the guidance of Balthasar Fischer. There Kleinheyer gave, in a collected form, a basis for the judgement of the complicated structure of the ritual of the ordination of priests. Two years later Bruno Kleinheyer published, at the request of J.A. Jungmann, factual proposals of changes in the order for the ordination of priests in an article in *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* (LJ), and Kleinheyer was consistently made secretary of the working team which prepared the revision of the Roman pontifical.<22>

In his article in 1964 Kleinheyer referred to the resolution of the Second Vatican Council about a revision of the orders in the pontifical, and showed that it was high time to put this into practice. There had been no change in the ritual for the ordination of priests since 1596. With the aid of the constitution *Sacramentum Ordinis* Kleinheyer claimed that the ordinal should be changed so that the imposition of hands should clearly stand out as the central act, and that the form and matter of the ordination should accompany each other. At the ordination of priests he said that the presbytery should be gathered by the bishop with outstretched hands during the entire prayer of consecration and not only at its beginning in order to stress more distinctly the relation between the prayer and the imposition of hands. The presenting of the stole and chasuble, the anointing and the presenting of the chalice and paten were designated by Kleinheyer as external rites <23> which explained the meaning of the ordination but were of no consequence to its validity, which should be clear from the liturgical form of the ritual. Here Kleinheyer suggested that these explanatory rites should be brought together to a single context to be performed in connection with the climax of the ordination, and he raised the question of in which order they should best be placed. Kleinheyer claimed that the second imposition of hands together with the words of accepting the Holy Spirit had to be omitted from the ordination of priests.<24>

Kleinheyer was of the opinion that the anointing of the hands and the presenting of the chalice and paten could keep their places after the imposition of hands if they were now as an explanation and an interpretation of the significance of the imposition of hands. He did, however, wish for a return to the use of chrism since the oil of the catechumens really belonged to baptism. He particularly wished that the anointing would once again be performed in the old way so that a cross was signed in each palm, and possibly that the anointed hands should not be tied together so that they could really be able to receive the chalice and paten when they were presented. In order to strengthen the position of the imposition of hands, the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus* ought not to be kept at the anointing of the hands but be moved to the imposition that took place in silence.<25>

In the apostolic constitution *Pontificalis Romani* Paul VI announced a major revision of the rites of ordination to the diaconate, the priesthood and the episcopate. The new rites were promulgated on the 15th of August 1968 and were put into practice for the first time at Easter 1969. The ordination rituals of PR 1968 showed a far-reaching congruence with Kleinheyer's proposal of reform, but in this context it must be underlined that Kleinheyer's proposal had been preceded by an initiated debate about the liturgical form of the ordination during the 1950's and 60's. In this debate, particularly the Benedictine Bernard Botte had brought up important views which had influenced the attitude of Kleinheyer. The influence of A. Bugnini on the form of the new rituals should not be underestimated either.<26>

In the constitution *Pontificalis Romani* Paul VI referred to the resolution on the liturgy of the Second Vatican Council and said that the rituals for the ordinations of deacons, priests and bishops had been renewed in order to express more clearly the holy things they signified so that the Christian people should, as far as possible, be able to understand them with ease <27>. The linking with the office of the Old Testament was avoided here as earlier in *Presbyterorum Ordinis*. The priests were consecrated in the image of Christ the eternal high priest as true priests of the New Testament to preach the Gospel, be shepherds of the faithful and to celebrate the worship of God <28>. Paul VI indicated that it had been necessary in the work of revision to add, remove or change texts and acts so that that which was considered to be the very nature of the rite should in each case appear in the most distinct way and all controversy be removed <29>. After this the Pope repeated the standpoint from 1947 that only the imposition of hands was to be regarded as the matter of the ordination.

In the orders of the new pontifical for the ordination of priests it proved that really radical changes in favour of the imposition of hands had taken place, the most radical changes since the first printed edition of PR 1485. Already in the introduction to the ritual for the ordination of priests one of these changes could be noted in that it was directed that the bishop, in addition to a linen gremial also needed holy chrism - not oil of the cathecumens which had been used at this consecration ever since the 15th century <30>.

In the actual text of the ordination of priests it was noted that the final imposition of hands and the words of accepting the Holy Spirit were now omitted, and only one imposition remained, when the candidates one by one came up to the bishop and knelt in silence. This made up the centre of the ordination together with the subsequent prayer of consecration when all the candidates knelt before the bishop who, with his hands extended over them, sang or read the prayer of consecration.

After the imposition of hands and the prayer of consecration the newly ordained were to be vested in stole and chasuble. This act had a different form in the old PR. The

stole should then, as in the new PR, be moved (Accipe iugum) but the chasuble should only be presented folded (Accipe vestem), not to be unfolded until after the second imposition of hands. The consequence of the omission of this imposition in the new PR was that the newly ordained were vested in the chasuble immediately after the prayer of consecration.

After the investiture the anointing followed, which had now been given completely newly - formulated words to accompany its performing with chrism:

The Father anointed our Lord Jesus Christ
through the power of the Holy Spirit.
May Jesus preserve you to sanctify the
Christian people and to offer sacrifice to
God. <31>

During the donning of the vestments and the anointing, Veni, Creator Spiritus as in the old PR or a verse from Psalm 109 with the antiphon Sacerdos in aeternum Christus Dominus secundum ordinem Melchisedech, panem et vinum obtulit, could be sung.

The presenting of the Gifts followed the hymn. The paten with the bread and the chalice with water and wine were presented with some words which to a far less degree than previously spoke about the sacrifice of the priest, but rather of that of the people of God.

Accept from the holy people of God the
gifts to be offered to him. Know what you
are doing, and imitate the mystery you celebrate: model your life on the mystery of
the Lord's Cross.<33>

Most of Kleinheyser's suggestions of reforms in the ritual for the ordination of priests had now been complied with - the second imposition of hands had been omitted, the explanatory rites had been brought together to take place after the prayer of consecration and the anointing was performed with chrism. Furthermore, the formula at the performing of the anointing was rewritten and for the first time in any pontifical it referred to Christ, the anointed one, and to the duty of the priest within the people of God and it was not linked with the kings and priests of the Old Testament. In the new PR, however, Veni, Creator Spiritus was kept, against the proposal of Kleinheyser, with the explanatory rites and was not moved to the imposition of hands.

In the introduction to the ritual for the ordination of bishops in the new PR it was directed, as for the ordination of priests, among other things that a linen gremial and holy chrism were needed for the celebration of the service.

The imposition of hands now takes place in silence at the ordination of bishops as well before the Gospel-book is held above the head of the elected one and the prayer of consecration is sung or read. This prayer, in its introductory

words (Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi), recalls the prayer which had previously been used at the anointing of the hands at the consecration of bishops, or still earlier at the supplementary anointing of the thumb, but after these words the prayer of consecration differs completely both in contents and the ways of expression from the older prayer. It is worth observing in the prayer that the only reference made to the Old Testament is to Abraham, the other references are throughout to Christ, the apostles, the Holy Spirit and his gifts.

When the imposition of hands and the prayer of consecration are ended the newly-ordained bishop is anointed on his head with chrism. The formula which is said at this is very short and quite new to the pontifical. Its contents can partly be found in PRG's earlier mentioned prayer Deus et Pater which in its old context was used in connection with the anointing of the thumb. In the new PR the bishop's head is anointed with a formula which refers to the bishop's sharing in the full priesthood of Christ and in its spiritual blessing <34>.

God has brought you to share the high
priesthood of Christ. May he pour out
on you the oil of mystical anointing
and enrich you with spiritual blessings.

After the anointing the consecrator washes his hands before the Gospel-book, the ring and the crozier are presented to the newly ordained bishop without any preceding blessings.

Thus, here in the order for the consecration of bishops still more radical changes can be found than in the ordination of priests. The anointing of the hands with its old prayers has been completely omitted, as have the accompanying hymn or antiphon. The words at the anointing have been entirely rewritten from having spoken of the celestial blessing of the anointing to pointing to Christ and his perfect priesthood which the bishop, through his ordination, shares. With the tendency which is found in the new ordinals to emphasize the connection between the office of the Church and Christ and the apostles, it seems consistent that the prayers at the anointing of the hands in the ordination of bishops with its strong link to the Old Testament anointing to an office were omitted and that the words at the anointing of the head were reformed. In the light of the liturgical simplification which characterized the whole liturgical reform of the Catholic Church it is also natural that the rubric in the old pontifical about the linen band which was to be tied round the crown of the ordinand's head was no longer included.

How are these ordinals with their far-reaching changes to be understood? The men behind the new rituals wrote about their historical background in a series of articles in the years 1968-69. This was done in order to show which considerations had been taken so that the new rituals could more clearly bring out the contents and significance of the ordination in a way that was easily understood.

As early as in the article in 1964, Bruno Kleinheyer wrote

that there were many elements in the ritual for the ordination of priests which could be questioned. The work on the revision should be directed by the words of the Congregation of Rites that the original, simple form of the order should now be restored, since its significance had been obscured in the course of the centuries by a superfluity of ceremonies.<35> In still another article in LJ in 1968 Bruno Kleinheyer briefly presented the new rituals - liturgy of ordination in a new guise. Fully conscious that both the anointing and the tradition of instruments had during some periods been regarded at least as parts of the matter of the sacrament of ordination, he wrote that these rites, after the resolution in *Sacramentum Ordinis* that only the imposition of hands was to be held as its matter, should now be re-moulded so that they would appear as explanatory rites, even though they did not have that function when they were introduced <36>. - Kleinheyer commented the change in the form of the anointing at the ordination of priests by saying that the old wording simply could not be kept but had to be replaced by the new words which alluded to Acts 10,13 <37>. Similarly, he took the view that the wording at the tradition of instruments was untenable, and only when it was replaced by words which attached less importance to this act could it be included among the explanatory rites <38>.

In a similar way Kleinheyer claimed that the explanatory rites at the consecration of bishops had been permitted to grow out of control. The anointing of the head must be moved from its place in the prayer of consecration, and the earlier "colourless" formula had to be replaced by words which spoke better of Christ and the fullness and duties of his office. The anointing of the hands could be omitted from the ritual, Kleinheyer said, since originally he who had already had his hands anointed when he was ordained priest did not need to have them anointed again. Here he had the direction in MS Addit. 15 222 in mind and interpreted it so that the anointing of hands had existed in ordinations of bishops only when a deacon who was not ordained priest was consecrated bishop <39>.

In the French periodical *La Maison-Dieu* 1969, members of the committee which had drawn up the orders in PR 1968 further presented the intention with the changes. As an introduction Pierre Journel wrote that the intention behind the revision had been to simplify the orders. At the preserving of the anointings in the rituals for the ordinations of priests and bishops a change in the form had had to take place in order to show that it was a secondary rite <40>.

Kleinheyer described the changes in the ritual for the ordination of priests, this time in some more detail, and said about the anointing that the words at its performing had been reformulated so as to, in a better way, indicate the significance of the anointing. It was a sign of the anointing of the Holy Spirit which had been given at the imposition of hands and in the prayer of consecration - a clarification that a spiritual anointing is involved <41>. The anointing was to be considered as an explanation of what had been given during the imposition of hands and prayer.

Bernard Botte accounted for the new order for the consecration of bishops and immediately turned against the prominent position which the anointing and the presenting of the episcopal insignia had held, with the consecration of Aaron in the Old Testament as its model. According to Botte the high priest of the new covenant has received only a spiritual anointing and therefore anointing by the Church should only be symbolical and point towards the inner anointing, the grace which is conferred through the imposition of hands <42>. -In the same year, in an article in LJ, Professor E.J. Lengeling made an analysis of the theology in the new rituals of ordination. There he counted the anointing among the misleading elements which had undermined the central significance of the imposition of hands and the prayer of consecration <43>. The formulations of the old pontifical had referred to Aaron, but now Lengeling claimed to find a return to the New Testament in the new ordinals <44>.

Thus, it has been shown briefly here how the position of anointing at the ordinations of bishops and of priests in the ordinals of 1968 went through the most radical changes since the Middle Ages, and what the intention was that lay behind the taken resolution of reform.

4.4. Conclusions.

There is a very clear line of development from the research made in the 17th century. This line leads through the debate of the following centuries about the nature of ordination and about what was required for a valid ordination, up to the ordination decisions and liturgical reform of the 20th century. By returning to the historical sources of the liturgy and theology of the Church, the position of the imposition of hands was increasingly fortified in the ordination. In summing-up of Chapter four it can be said that, through liturgical research and historical debate, the imposition of hands came to stand out as the foremost significant act of the ordination, and as a result, the Catholic Church changed her ordination doctrine and ordination liturgy. In this context the ordination anointing received a changed meaning in the liturgy, from being considered by many as essential, to becoming an act which interpreted the significance of the imposition of hands. Some brief observations about the problems associated with ordination anointing can be added to this chapter.

The research which was carried out in the 17th century was ambitious and careful, this is apparent from the extensive presentation of the scholar's material. In their research on ordination they brought up things which had earlier been unknown or uninvestigated. Unfortunately these scholars often lacked the opportunity to discern material which is now known to be falsified, but in the cases where expressed scepticism as to the authenticity of the sources existed, a very great caution can also be noted when it came to drawing conclusions from the research. Despite the fact that Hallier did not find any witness of ordination anointing in the Greek works, he

still did not draw the conclusion that it had not existed among them but wrote that it was used sporadically. A still more obvious example of Hallier's caution when it came to drawing conclusions is his assumption that the anointing was being practised when Anacletus and Clement were said to have written their letters and that Hallier wrote that no one could at least doubt that this anointing had been included in the ordinations of the Church in the West from the time of Gregory the Great (d. 604) or at least from Charlemagne (d. 814). Hallier was so vague here that his dating as to when this anointing could have been brought into practice ranged, over 800 years. It can hardly be assumed a too hasty conclusion to state here that Hallier did not wish to rule out the possibility that the anointing was an apostolic practice. The reason may have been pragmatic in Hallier's case. His reasoning shows that he was far from certain that the anointing had been in existence from the earliest times, and that he could conceive a dating as late as the 9th century. This can hardly have fitted in with the apologetic and counter-reformational attitude of the Catholic Church in the beginning of the 17th century. Hallier's confinement to the leading and dominating theological line of the Church is also evident from his repeated stating of the view of Pope Innocent III on the anointing. From these factors put together, the conclusion can be drawn that Hallier's research was too early to change and break off with the opinions from the Middle Ages. It is even possible that Hallier, through his research on this issue, was placed in a conflict of loyalty between the conclusions he had been able to draw from the presented material and the conclusions which were the most convenient for the Church during the prevailing circumstances (i.e. the Thirty Years War - France had become actively involved in the events in 1636).

In the year 1655 John Morin could, in a clear and unambiguous way, present the conclusions of the ordination research by stating that anointing at the ordination of priests could not have originated in the earliest times of the Church and that this anointing had never been used by the Greeks. Morin did not have more material as a base for these conclusions than Hallier had had, but the times were different and Morin's work came to be regarded as epochmaking in the Catholic ordination research. Morin was however, more uncertain about the use of anointing at the ordinations of bishops. Here, the source material was also to be considered as very difficult to judge. For the development up to modern times, Morin's conclusions about the imposition of hands were of greatest importance. During the earliest times of the Church, the imposition of hands alone was to have been the essential act of the ordination. Morin counts the understanding that the anointing could be considered as part of the matter of ordination as next to marginal.

These new conclusions inevitably led to an intense debate which reappraised the earlier judgements of the validity of individual ordinations and of the ordination rituals of whole Churches. In the debate on the Anglican office the imposition of hands was regarded as the central act - this was a consequence of Morin's research - and the tradition of

instruments as well as the anointing were regarded as explanations of the intention of the ordination, or explanatory rites which showed the intention of the imposition of hands. In the 19th century debate, the development which was to come in the theology of holy orders concerning this relationship could already be anticipated.

No decisive liturgical difference between the Catholic Church and several Protestant Churches could be maintained any longer in the main part of the ordination. This meant that the interest in the detailed shape of the liturgy decreased, and the emphasis on the intention of the ordination increased. It was necessary for the ordination to be regarded as valid from the Catholic side, that it had been not only distinctly shown that an ordination to the same kind of office as that of the Catholic Church was intended, but also that it was clearly stated that this office belonged to the hierarchic communion of the Catholic Church. It can seem that a convenient way of marking the sacerdotal character of the office would have been to emphasize the position of the anointing. It is, however, evident now when the debate can be judged afterwards that, through the disclosures of the scholars, so much suspicion had been cast on the anointing of its obscuring the original meaning and form of the ordination that the contributions from both the Catholic and the Protestant sides carefully avoided bringing up the anointing. The times when the anointing was mentioned in this debate and have been accounted for in this chapter, were rather to be regarded as exceptions. Unfortunately, few observed in the debate on the office, the role the anointing had played during the period of the Reformation and how it had then influenced the judgement of the validity of the Protestant ordinations.

The stress was more and more laid on the intention of the ordination. The apostolic constitution *Sacramentum Ordinis* can here be said to go furthest in this view in that it did not even regard a physical touching at the imposition of hands as necessary for the validity of the ordination. With this argumentation, the intention to be ordained into the Catholic hierarchy became of predominant importance, and the liturgical form became dependent on the intention.

The Second Vatican Council involved a new way of looking at the relationship between the congregation and the hierarchy. The priest was considered foremost as being a part of the congregation and to be the administrator of the sacraments as one among the other Christians. The bishop, however, was regarded as a member of the episcopal college under leadership of Peter's successor.

At this stage in the development of the theology of holy orders and ordination it became untenable to let the anointing maintain such a position in the liturgy that it both intruded on the imposition of hands and spoke of the priest's separation from the people as in the Old Testament. The resolution in the liturgical reform was to lessen the stress on the anointing by shortening the prayer at its execution, reformulating it so that it related to the New Testament. Thus,

the new formulated prayers at the anointings have come to reflect the renewed concept of ministry and ordination in the Catholic Church.

On this point, Morin's research bore fruit in the pontifical of 1968. At the same time, however the second imposition of hands in the ritual for the ordination of priests was removed with the words of accepting the Holy Spirit. Morin had held this as being the central part of the ordination, and partly because of that, this had been included in the Anglican debate. In the ritual of 1968 for the ordinations of priests and bishops, the imposition of hands takes place once only and in silence - no prayer is said and no hymn is sung. Silence as an expression of spiritual concentration at a liturgical act is a novelty throughout the liturgical reform of the Vatican Council and it recurs in several liturgical contexts in the Catholic Church.

More radical reforms of the ordinal had been demanded by, among others, Bruno Kleinheyer. Despite the fact that his wishes were met in many respects, they were not met on the point that he wanted the hymn Veni, Creator Spiritus in the ritual for the ordination of priests to be moved from the presenting of the vestments and the anointing to the imposition of hands.

With the liturgical reform, an ordination theology that laid the stress on the intention had its liturgical break-through. In the ordination of priests the connection with the local congregation was intensified, in the ordination of bishops the link with the episcopal college was strengthened. At the same time that which had been the conclusion of the research and debate of the previous centuries was carried through - that the imposition of hands alone was to be essential act of the ordination. The return to the sources had become a return to the imposition of hands and a rejection of the anointing. The liturgical reform was an attempt by the Catholic Church to purge and clarify the problem-filled combination of competing rites in the earlier ordinals.

5. CONCLUSIONS

To complete this dissertation on anointing as an ordination problem, the results will be compiled in a brief final chapter and some overall conclusions will be drawn. The problems caused by the use of anointing at ordinations can now be surveyed and can be most simply divided into three main groups: historical, liturgical and theological problems. The Church has attempted to avoid and to solve these problems in various ways.

When this anointing was introduced it was apparently desirable for different reasons to give the impression that anointing had been used in this manner ever since the earliest times of the Church. Because of this, a number of falsifications of sources were made which were to give apostolic authority to the use of anointing at ordinations and to give it the support of Fathers of the Church from both the East and the West. This possibly natural wish at that time to give the anointing a reliable background afterwards caused historical problems. These were particularly evident during the 16th century when the Catholic Church needed arguments against the Protestants in defence of the anointing. Then, in the councilary debate, they adduced the whole group of pseudo-works more strongly than in earlier official contexts. The reformers had been influenced by the beginning textual critical methods of the humanists which questioned several of the texts referred to, but their main argument against the anointing must still be said to have been the fact that it was not commanded or instituted by Christ or certified by the books of the New Testament. In this question the reformers adhered to the principle "sola Scriptura" against their most learned and prominent contemporary theologians who defended the ancient origin of the anointing in Trent. Despite the fact that the reformers could not state anything about the adduced writings with certainty, it seems afterwards, surprisingly enough, that their arguments concerning this historical problem have proved the most tenable.

The historical problem became still more evident in the 17th century when the Catholic Church through her own successful research was informed that the anointing had been introduced into the ordination ritual at a late stage and had never been used in the Eastern Church. Through this, the imposition of hands alone could be regarded as the most important element of the ordination in all Churches. Despite

this, it was to take nearly 300 years, until the middle of the 20th century, until the Catholic Church took the consequences of these historical discoveries and placed the imposition of hands liturgically and theologically in the centre of the ordination.

Thus, there are serious historical problems where the ordination anointing is concerned, which have for a long time obscured the understanding not only of the origin of this anointing but also of the nature of ordination.

A problem, both historical and theological, is to what degree the introduction of anointing into the ordination depended on external circumstances, for example, political reasons, as Ellard suggests ⁽¹⁾. It may also have been dependent on an interchange with a Jewish settlement which brought about an increasing number of Old Testament ceremonies in the Christian Church. Many signs indicate, as has earlier been stated in Chapter 2.3., that the development was at least hastened by causes other than theological. If there were any political advantages, nationally or ecclesiastically, to be gained by the introduction of this anointing, this would explain the readiness to give it a strong and well-founded position in liturgy and theology at its introduction. The problem which followed the liturgical innovation seems to have been theological difficulties in motivating its position in a well-founded manner. From its introduction, there has been uncertainty and discord up to modern times about the theological interpretation of the ordination. The anointing has been included in the centre of the ordination but has by many been regarded as an alien rite in that context.

A considerable liturgical and theological problem after the introduction of ordination anointing was that the balance between the different elements in the ordination liturgy was disturbed. The return to the liturgical sources involved that the ordination research made it clear that the imposition of hands, probably performed in silence, had been the original liturgical act of the ordination, followed by a prayer of consecration. There was probably no difference between the ordination of priests and that of bishops in that respect. The liturgical balance was disturbed when the anointing, the investiture and the tradition of instruments were introduced with the model from the Old Testament. The imposition of hands lost its special position as the characterizing act of the ordination, and this liturgical problem was connected with a theological one. The revival of the Old Testament ceremonies and the strengthening of the old concept of the sacerdotal priest were both dependant on the fact that there was a revaluing of the position of the Old Testament within theology. When the priest and the bishops were to be consecrated to their offices it was considered theologically motivated to indicate that the office of the Church was an extension of the Aronitic priesthood of the old covenant. This was done by transferring several of the ceremonial directions from the Book of Exodus to the liturgy of the Church. Thus, the ordination rituals of the Early Church were put through considerable changes which had their background in, among other

things, a changed view on the Old Testament. This theological change of values in favour of the Old Testament was to cause difficulties, and in the 16th century an open conflict, when parts of the Church wished to return to a liturgy and theology simpler and more marked by the New Testament.

One problem which has recurred several times in this dissertation is the difficulties which the use of ordination anointing has caused for the baptism, its liturgy and theology. As has been shown in Chapter 2, the formulation of the words at the performance of this anointing in its first recorded form was partly taken from the baptismal liturgy. It is clear from what the Fathers of the Church and the early baptismal liturgies said, that the anointing with chrism after the immersion was considered to make the newly-baptized person a Christian, an anointed one, who shared the royal, priestly and prophetic office of Christ. Consequently, the introduction of the ordination anointing brought about a diminishing of the concept of the common priesthood. The anointed priests were separated from the people to make up a special community sanctified to God more than others were. Through the introduction of anointing at the ordination, the result for the baptism was that the baptismal anointing with chrism did not give a real participation in the office of Christ. The times in the Church when the positions of the baptism and the laity were to be strengthened have, as a consequence of this problem, also involved a decreased emphasis on the position of the anointing in the ordination.

On several occasions, the Christian Church has attempted to solve the problems connected with this anointing. The Reformation, the Council of Trent and the Second Vatican Council are examples of when the ordination anointing has been debated and resolutions have been taken in order to solve the problems it caused, which have been described here. In this context it is important to show that the reformers were not unanimous either in their criticism of ordination anointing or in the ways in which they wished to solve its problems. Luther, unlike most of the other reformers, was not content only with turning away from this anointing as being incompatible with the New Testament and its emphasis on the imposition of hands. He also strongly criticized the fact that this anointing intruded on the position of the baptism in that it gave to the priest something which had really been given to all Christians at baptism. Without seeming to be conscious of it, Luther referred back to the earliest Christians tradition in which the baptismal anointing with chrism had a significance which was modelled on the election and sanctification of the people, the king, the priest and the prophet in the Old Testament. Seen in a wider perspective, Luther possibly went too far on this point so that all differences between priests and laity disappeared, the special and the common priesthood became one and the office of the priest only became a function, even though Luther held this function in very high esteem. Luther's way of solving the problems caused by the ordination anointing was radical. Together with Bugenhagen he drew up a new ordination ritual in which he abandoned the liturgical tradition of the Middle Ages, omitting the anointing and the other Old Testament ceremonies.

Due to the fact that Luther stood in a tradition in which the imposition of hands was only counted among the acts preparatory to the ordination, the imposition of hands came to have a weak position in the ordinals of Germany and Denmark. The Reformation in England and in Sweden was in many respects more independent of Luther than that in Denmark. Among the reformators, Luther was the one who had gone the furthest in regarding the baptism as an ordination which made everyone equal priests in the Church. During the preparatory times of the English reformation, Cranmer was influenced by the Lutheran ideas that vocation and appointment were the important points of the ordination. At the drawing up of the Protestant ordinals, however, he was influenced by Bucer who regarded the imposition of hands as a central and characterizing act of the ordination to a greater extent than Luther had done. The imposition of hands was permitted to maintain a strong position in Sweden as well, and this was caused partly by a particular liturgical tradition which had stressed the position of the imposition of hands in the liturgy. In all the Protestant Churches the problems which had been caused by the ordination anointing were solved in the simplest way: it was removed from the ordination liturgy. In most cases, the reason was that this anointing was incompatible with the break with the old concept of the sacerdotal priest which the reformers intended, and the fact that this anointing was not mentioned or linked with the office in the New Testament. Only Luther seems to have regarded this anointing as a threat to the baptism and the common priesthood. This break with the medieval tradition of ordination had the consequence that the Catholic Church regarded the reformers as having a different intention with their ordination compared with that of the Catholic Church.

The criticism which had been directed against this problematic anointing resulted in that the Catholic Church, at the Council of Trent, brought up the issue of the position of the anointing in the ordination and attempted to solve the problems which had arisen. The course of action of the members of the Council was, however, entirely different from that of the reformers. The council fathers could hardly accept to level out the difference between priest and layman or to diminish the sacerdos-concept or the emphasis on the sacrificial character of the mass. Although they seriously regarded the criticism of the reformators and made attempts to analyze it, their reverence for the liturgical tradition and their loyalty towards conciliary resolutions was so great that no one seriously questioned the existence of the anointing at ordinations. There were, however, different opinions about the form and matter of the ordination, in which some members included the anointing while others did not. Because of this, the resolution of the council was not a condemnation of those who did not use the anointing at ordinations but only an anathema to those who rejected it. In the resolution, nothing was said about whether the anointing was of any significance for the validity of the ordination. The Council of Trent did not cause any liturgical change in the act of anointing at the ordinations of priests and bishops and can rather be said to have been the real step towards a uniform practice of this anointing in the Western Catholic Church. Through the

resolution of the council, the Catholic Church wished to solve the problems which the anointing had caused by way of using the authority of the apostles and the tradition, but without at this stage taking a stand in the issue of the form and matter of the ordination.

The latest attempts to solve the problems associated with the anointing were made in 1947 when it was clear that the imposition of hands was the only matter of the ordination, and through the liturgical reform of the Second Vatican Council in 1968 which put the decisions on the imposition into liturgical practice. The use of anointing was decreased and it was performed less as a central act and more as an explanatory act. Two lines of development in the Catholic Church concerning the ordination and the office meet in the revision of the ordination anointing. Firstly, it can be clearly discerned that the intention of the ordination is given a greater importance and that the liturgical act as a whole receives a more explanatory meaning - the external act expresses an inner process. Secondly, as can be seen in *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, the Catholic Church emphasizes her office more as a ministry modelled on the New Testament and less as *sacerdos* in the old sense. The apostolate of the laity has also been brought up again, and the priest is in the first place one in the people of God, not one in the hierarchy. These two lines met in the anointing and made its position and shape in the ordination untenable. It spoke too expressly of an office in the old sense, of a separation from the people, and of a next to material conferring of spiritual gifts. Thus, the Catholic Church has, in respect of her liturgical tradition, retained the anointing in the ordination rituals but given it a more unobtrusive position and almost completely changed its meaning through re-formulations.

NOTES

1. INTRODUCTION.

1. Messenger 1936 I, 86. There is another idea which makes its appearance in the Middle Ages, and that is, that the unctions form part of the matter of the sacrament of holy order. This point has not received the attention it deserves.
2. Hallier 942 and 1006 pp.
3. The term "Ordination problem" is taken from J. Wordsworth - Ordination problems, London 1909.
4. Kleinheyer describes the development of the anointing of the hands 1962, 114-122, 138-142, 152, 157-160, 202-203, 220-222.
5. Steinheimer describes the task 2-3 and deals with the Roman liturgy 100-109.
6. Härdelin describes the issue 3, and returns to it 31-33, 94-95, 137.
7. Ellard describes his method 3-13.
8. Kleinheyer 1972, 270. Hier ist nicht der Ort, nach theologischen Hintergründen für die massive Aufwertung der Salbungsriten zu fragen; oder auch danach zu fragen, was diese Aufwertung für den zentralen Ritus der Handauflegung bedeutet hat.
9. Bradshaw, unpublished manuscript 1980, 1. The student of Reformation ordination practice, however, faces serious obstacles in his path, in that few have gone before him through this jungle to clear his way.
10. C.F.W. Walter, Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, Erlangen 1852; A. Harless, Kirche und Amt nach lutherischer Lehre, Stuttgart 1853; Th. Harnack, Die Kirche, ihr Amt, ihr Regiment, Nürnberg 1862. See also Brunotte 18 pp.
11. Holmström 144.
12. Brunotte 202.
13. P.E. Fink, The Sacrament of Orders: Some Liturgical Reflections, art. in Worship, Nov. 82, 482 pp.

2. THE MIDDLE AGES.

1. Hallier 1016. Pontifex solemniter Sacerdotem de gradu suo deiectionem declarans, degradandi pollices, & manus leuiter cum cultello aut vitro abradere.
- 2.1. The Shape of Ordination Anointing.
2. Bligh 127 translation; Ellard 59 pp.
3. Brit.Mus.MS Addit.15 222; Ellard 75 pp; DACL 12:2,2133; Andrieu 1930, 346; Bligh 132; Klauser 350; Casel 1930, 230; Kleinheyer 1962, 35.
4. Several scholars, among others Andrieu and Ellard, have given attention to MS Addit.15 222 and observed the said liturgical innovation, but here excerpts are presented for the first time in this context with the aid of an illustration - see Plates no.1 & 2.
5. Ellard 77.
6. Andrieu 1930, 343 pp; Kleinheyer 1972, 262 pp.
7. Ellard 19 pp; Klauser 349.
8. Klauser 349.
9. Ellard 20 p; Bligh 129, transl; Porter 52-3, transl.
CONSECRATIO MANUS
Consecrentur manus istae et sanctificentur per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem ut quaecumque benedixerint benedicta sint et quaecumque sanctificauerint sanctificentur per dominum.
ITEM ALIA
Unguantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato et crismate sanctificationes sicut unxit samuel david in regem et prophetam ita unguantur et consummentur in nomine dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti facientes imaginem sanctae crucis saluatoris nostri domini nostri Iesu Christi qui nos a morte redemit et ad regna caelorum perducit.
10. Ellard 20.
11. Cf Bligh 129.
12. Ellard 30. Of the vesting, see also Porter 79.
13. Vulgate 1906, cf New English 1970, where the translational difficulties are brought to light.
Ex.28,41b With these invest your brother Aaron and his sons, anoint them, install them and consecrate them.
14. Vulgate 1906.
Ex.29,1a,5-9: Sed & hoc facies, vt mihi in sacerdotio consecrentur. indues Aaron vestimentis suis id est, linea & tunica, & superhumerali & rationali, quod constringes balteo. Et pones tiaram in capite eius, &

laminem sanctam super tiaram, & oleum vnctionis fundes,super caput eius: atque hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quoque illius applicabis, & indues tunicis lineis, cingesq. balteo, Aaron scilicet & liberos eius, & imponens eis mitras: eruntq. sacerdotes mihi religione perpetua.
Cf New English 1970:

In consecrating them to be my priests this is the rite to be observed.. Take the vestments and invest Aaron with the tunic, the mantle of the ephod, the ephod itself and the breastpiece, and fasten the ephod to him with its waist-band. Set the turban on his head, and the symbol of holy dedication on the turban. Take the anointing oil, pour it on his head and anoint him. Then bring his sons forward, invest them with tunics, gird them with the sashes and tie their tall head-dresses on them. They shall hold the priesthood by rule binding for all time.

15.Ex.29,20.

16.Lev.4,3 pp;Kutsch 22 p.

17.Ex.30,22-33.

18.Kutsch 52 pp.

19.See 1 Sam 10,1; 1 Sam 16,13.

20.Klauser 351; Eichmann 25: ungebantur reges non per Deum, sed qui ceteris crudeliores exstarent, et paulo post ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur aliis electis trucioribus.

21.Gildas, De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae, Mon.Germ.Hist., Auct.Ant., XIII,82.

....benedictioni, qua initiantur sacerdotum vel ministrorum manus.
Eichmann 25; Bligh 128; Ellard 9.

22.Cf Klauser 351; Maskell I, cxix; Procter & Frere 656, nl.

23.Beda, Hist.Eccles.lib.II c.2 - anointing might possibly have been included among the deviations from Rome which could be tolerated:

..caetera quae agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, aeguanimiter cuncta tolerabimus.

Cf Ellard 9 p; Bligh 128; Palmer 261 p.

24.Julianus Toletanus, Historia Wambae regis.

Eichmann 24; Aschbach 277 p.

25.Eichmann 29 p; Ellard 31.

There are also suspicions that the information about this anointing could be falsified -Eichmann 30,n2- but they probably lack foundation since a falsification, in order to stress the similarity with the biblical David, would have spoken of anointing of the head.

26.Kutsch 33 pp.

27.There is unauinity among the scholars about this kinship.

Ellard 31; Klauser 351.

28.The Visigoths may have been of even greater importance if the order for the first anointing of the head at ordinations of bishops did not originate from Gellone/Cambrai but from Montpellier, as Kleinheyser 1962, 103

suggests.

29. Zuckerman 29 p; Kottje 95-105.

For an argumentation in favour of insular (British-Celtic) provenience, see Kleinheyer 1962, 115, n182.

Egyptian origin is suggested in *The Study*, 324.

30. Ellard 79.

31. Ellard 80; Egbert xviii.

32. Egbert 21; Leroquais I, lxxix p.

Consecrentur manus iste, quaesumus Domine, et sanctificentur per istam unctionem, nostramque benedictionem, ut quaecumque benedixerint benedicta sint, et quaecumque sanctificaverint sanctificata sint. Per.

Robert: tuamque -instead of- nostramque.

Ellard 80, n3; Robert 122; Claudius 37.

33. Leroquais I, lxx; Leroquais II, 7; Ellard 80; Maskell II, 211, n64 says that anointing at ordination of deacons was for a short time practised in France; Claudius xxvi p; Kleinheyer 1962, 134.

34. Robert 123 p - Benedictio uel consecratio manuum sacerdotis. ante unctionem crismatis. Benedic domine et sanctifica ...

Ibd. 124 - Consecratio manuum sacerdotis de oleo et crismate. Consecrentur manus iste quaesumus domine de oleo sancto, et sanctificentur per istam unctionem et sanctamque benedictionem. ut quaecumque benedixerint benedicta sint. et quaecumque sanctificauerint sanctificata permaneant. per. - The same as in Claudius 39.

Egbert 22 - Consecrentur manus istae, quaesumus Domine, et sanctificentur: per istam sanctam unctionem et nostram invocationem, adque divinam benedictionem, ut quodquod benedixerint, sit benedictum, et quodquod sanctificaverint, sit sanctificatum. Per.

35. Ibd.; Ellard 81.

36. Ibd. - Consecratio capitis cum oleo. Unguatur et consecratur caput tuum caelesti benedictione in ordine sacerdotali, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Pax tibi. Resp. Et cum Spiritu tuo.

For the ordination of priests, see also Pawley, *Priesthood in the English Church*, where Egbert's pontifical is compared with Robert's benedictional.

37. Leroquais II, 109. Pontifical de Cahors, IXe siècle, Fin., Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS. lat. 1217 - the words as in note 35. In this ordinal, the anointings at the ordination of priests come before the presenting of the chasuble. Ellard 82 dates this pontifical to the late 10th century. Leroquais I, lxxviii p.

Maskell II, 223, n92. Maskell's surmise that this anointing was disappearing as early as in the 12th century cannot be united with the data in Leroquais I, 151, where the anointing of the head is quoted from the Winchester pontifical (12th century) in Douai.

38. Egbert 3.

-Consecratio manuum episcopi. ab archiepiscopo oleo sancto et crismate. Unguntur manus istae et sanctificentur, et in te Deo Deorum ordinentur. Ungo has manus oleo sanctificato, et chrismate unctionis purificato, si-

cut unxit Moyses verbo oris sui manus sancti Aaron germani sui; et sicut unxit Spiritus Sanctus per suos flatus manus -omnium sacerdotum; et sicut Jesus Salvator omnium nostrum sanctificat manus /only in Egbert - / suorum Apostolorum. Ita unguentur /Robert:ungantur/ manus istae et sanctificantur et consecrentur, ut in omnibus sint perfectae, in nomine tuo, Pater, Filiique tui, atque aeterni Spiritus Sancti, qui es unus ac summus Deus omnium vivorum et mortuorum manens in saecula saeculorum. /Contin. only in Egbert/ Alia.

Unguentur manus istae et consecrentur de oleo sanctificato, sicut unxit Samuel David in regem et prophetam. Ita unguentur et consummentur in nomine Dei, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

39.Ibd.

Hic mittatus oleum super caput eius.

Ungatur /Robert:Ungatur/ et consecretur caput tuum caelesti benedictione in ordine pontificali /Robert: ordinem pontificalem/. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. /Only in Egbert - / Amen.

Pax tibi. R.Et cum spiritu tuo.

The formula as for the ordination of priests. "Pontificali" is in the place of "sacerdotali".

40.Ellard 81, n3.

41.Ibd.83.

42.Ibd.82 p.

43.Leroquais I, lxxxix.

44.Leroquais I: 60; 217; 236; 256; 285 (Rouen: oil+chrism); 299.

Leroquais II: 4; 18; 118; 128; 172 (the year 1420); 176; 223; 232; 252; 259; 272; 303 (Winchester 10th century); 321; 330; 348; 362; 380 (Worms 10th century).

This anointing is also included in the MSS which belong to the PRG and PGD group beginning in the 10th century. Ellard 98 p; Andrieu I:48, 85, 149; II:17, 361; III: 384.

45.Palmer 187.

46.Maskell II, 223 pp; Barnes 80 pp.

47.Maskell II, 225, n95.

48.Maskell II, 236; see also ibd.n17.

49.Maskell II, 276 p.Maskell notes in n33 that the English pontificals from Exeter and Bangor only prescribe one anointing of the head, but with the support of Menard, Maskell considers himself able to claim that the twofold anointing of the head is an English tradition.

50.Maskell II, 276, n32 states that the Pontifical of Exeter speaks of the elected bishop in the rubric of this anointing. Here the anointing takes place before the imposition of hands: Hic mittat chrisma in coronam capitis electi ... Barnes 92 also observes in his translation of Sarum that it is written "Bishop-elect". Cf Maskell II, 292, n43.

51.Maskell II, 283 pp; Barnes 95 p.

- 52.Maskell II, 277, n33. Cf Leroquais I, lxxxviii.
- 53.Hofmeister 25 p.
- 54.Ibd.28.
- 55.Ibd.44 pp. Mitchell 85 - The third Council in Chartage in the year 397 pronounced that the presbyter was never to consecrate chrism.
- 56.Claudius v p.
- 57.Ibd.28 pp.
- 58.Ibd.29. Consecratio crismatis. Oremus fratres ...Alia. Omnipotens sancta trinitas...
- 59.Ibd.30...cooperante/potentia christi tui: a cuius sancto nomine crisma nomen accepit; Vnde unxisti sacerdotes.reges.prophetas.et martyres. ut sit his qui renati fuerint ex aqua et spiritu sancto crisma salutis. eoque eterne uite participes: et celestis glorie facias esse consortes. per eundem.
- 60.Bodl.Libr.MS Rawl.C 400. Pontifical containing services for the consecration of holy oils, made for Roger de Mardivall, bishop of Salisbury (d.1330).
- 61.Ellard 88 pp; Kleinheyer 1962, 143 pp; Kleinheyer 1972, 261 p; Vogel-Elze I, xvii. Richter 51 regards himself, with the aid of Andieu, able to show that anointing was used for the first time in Rome in 925,which agrees well with Ellard 77 which considers that it was introduced in 928 at the latest, when the pontificate of John X was terminated. Kleinheyer 1962, 167, n4 says that PRG reached Rome in 964, when Pope Leo VIII was informed about the Frankish-German ordinal.
- 62.Vogel-Elze I, 33...Unde et sacerdotales gradus atque officia levitarum sacramentis mysticis instituta creverunt ... sic in Eleazarum et Ithamarum filios Aaron paternae plenitudinis abundantiam transfudisti, ut ad hostias salutare et frequentioris officii sacramenta ministerium sufficeret sacerdotum.
- 63.Ibd.35.- Consecrare et sanctificare digneris, domine, manus istas per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem ut quecumque recte consecraverint, consecrentur et quecumque benedixerint, benedicantur et sanctificentur in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi.R.Amen.
Hoc facto, accipiat patenam cum oblatiis et calicem cum vino et det eis dicens: Accipite potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in nomine domini. R.Amen.
For the use of oil only at this anointing, see Kleinheyer 1962, 159 p.
- 64.Kleinheyer 1962, 119 p.
Ibd.117, n193. -Benedic Domine et sanctifica has manus sacerdotis tui ad consecrandas hostias quae pro delictis atque neglegentiis populi offeruntur et ad cetera benedicenda quae ad usus populi necessaria sunt. Et presta quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut quaecumque benedixerint benedicta sint et quaecumque sanctificaverint sanctificata sint.
About "recte", see Ellard 76, n2, and also Kleinheyer 1962, 120.
- 65.Vogel-Elze I, 217 p. -Vere dignum -usque- aeterne Deus. Honor omnium

dignitatum quae gloriae tuae sacratis famulantur ordinibus, Deus qui Moysen famulum tuum secreti familiaris affatu, inter cetera caelestis documenta culturae, de habitu quoque indumenti sacerdotalis instituens, electum Aaron mistico amictu vestiri inter sacra iussisti...

66. Vogel-Elze I, 218 p. -Hic mittat chrisma in caput eius in modum crucis et dicatur:
Unguatur et consecratur caput tuum caelesti benedictione in ordine pontificali, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. R.Amen.
Pax tibi. R.Et cum spiritu tuo.
Hoc, domine, copiose in eius caput influat, hoc in oris subiecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, ut tui spiritus virtus et interiora eius repleat et exteriora circumtegat...
Consecratio manuum.
Unguantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato et chrismate sanctificationis /Samuel-David/.
Completa benedictione, confirmet pollicem consecrati cum chrismate, dicens:
Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te ad pontificatus sublimari voluit dignitatem, ipse te chrismate et mysticae delibationis liquore perfundat, et spiritualis benedictionis ubertate fecundet, ut quicquid benedixeris benedicatur, quicquid sanctificaveris sanctificetur, et consecratae manus istius vel pollicis impositio cunctis proficiat ad salutem. Amen.
 67. Andrieu I, 148-9; Richter 52, n60.
 68. Kleinheyer 1962, 190 p, 216; Richter 80, 84.
 69. Ibid. 187 p.
 70. Ibid. 194 p; Andrieu III, 366.
 71. Ibid. 369; Kleinheyer 1962, 202 p, 181.
 72. The background of anointing in PGD has been meritoriously explained by Bruno Kleinheyer in an article. Kleinheyer 1972, 263 pp. Cf Richter 64.
 73. Andrieu III, 383 pp; see also Richter 82.
 74. Vogel-Elze II, 71 pp.
 75. Andrieu III, 569-579.
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- 2.2. The meaning of Ordination Anointing.
 1. Cf Ellard 31, 50.
 2. Mitchell 119 p; Eichmann 34.
 3. Ellard 21.
 4. Mitchell 19.
 5. The Study 225 p, 325; Mitchell 107:
Mix in the power of the Holy Spirit through the might of thy Christ,
from whose holy name chrism received its name, with which thou didst a-

noint thy priests, kings, prophets and martyrs, that it may be to those who shall be born again of water and the Holy Spirit a chrism of salvation, and make them to be partakers of eternal life and sharers in the heavenly glory.

6. Mitchell 22.

7. St. Chrysostom, Homily II on the Letter to Timothy, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers vol. XIII, 415.

8. Mitchell 45.

9. Ibid. 87.

10. Ibid. 137.

11. Bligh 130; Ellard 33; Kleinheyer 1962, 140.

Unde oportet vos semper memores esse tantae dignitatis, memores vestrae consecrationis, memores sacrae quam in manibus suscepistis unctionis... ut nec ab eadem dignitate degeneretis, nec vestram consecrationem irritam faciatis, nec manus sacro unguine delibutas polluatis.

12. Ellard 40 pp; Bligh 38, 131, 135; Kleinheyer 1962, 139, n287.

Presbyteri deputantur in loco filiorum Aaron. Scriptum est in libro Numerorum: Haec nomina filiorum Aaron sacerdotum, qui uncti sunt, quorum repleta est consecratione manus, ut sacerdotio fungerentur. -Hunc morem tenent episcopi nostri: manus presbyterorum ungunt de oleo. Manifestum est cur hoc faciant, ut munda sint ad offerendam hostiam Deo, et largae ad cetera officia pietatis. Utrumque designatur per oleum, et gratia curationis et charitas dilectionis.

13. Kleinheyer 1962, 135.

14. Ellard 55. -Manus enim chrismate sacro peruncta, et Christi sanguinis sacramentum, abhominabile est, quicquid ante ordinationem fecerit, ut post ordinationem episcopatus saeculare tangat ullomodo sacramentum.

15. Ibid. 56.

16. Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis. The Study 325; Ellard 68. -Praeterea et illud omnimodo observandum est, ut sacrum chrisma et oleum consecratum semper sub sera sit; ne illud unde Christo incorporamur... unde reges et sacerdotes inunguntur, aliquis fidelis aut immundus tangat...

17. Eichmann, 11.

18. Ibid. 12.

19. Ibid. 70, n2. -...a qua consecratione vel regni sublimitate subplantari vel proici a nullo debueram, saltem sine audientia et iudicio episcoporum, quorum ministerio in regem sum consecratus et qui throni Dei sunt dicti.

20. Ibid. 56. Eichmann 1942 1, 288.

21. Eichmann, 13; Eichmann 1942 1, 86p.

22.Ellard 42.

23.The suspicion that these Decretals had been falsified began to come up during the later part of the 15th century, and among those who were pronouncedly sceptical about their authenticity were Erasmus and several of the reformators of the 16th century.

24.Epistola Clementis tertia. Ellard 52; Hinschius 53.

LVIII. Primus enim pontifex Aaron crismate compositionis perunctus, princeps populi fuit et tanquam rex primitias et tributum per capita accepit a populo, et iudicandi plebem sorte suscepta de mundis immundisque iudicabat. Sed et si alius ex ipso unguento perunctus est, virtute inde concepta, etiam ipse rex aut propheta aut pontifex fiebat...LIX. Omnis enim pontifex sacro crismate perunctus et in civitate constitutus, scripturis sacris eruditus, carus et pretiosus hominibus oppido esse debet.

25.Epistola Anacleti secunda. Ellard 52 p; PL 130, 68 p; Hinschius 75.

Ordinationes episcoporum auctoritate apostolica ab omnibus qui in eadem fuerint provincia episcopi, sunt celebrande. Qui simul convenientes scrutinium diligenter agant ieiuniumque cum omnibus precibus celebrent, et manus cum sanctis evangeliiis, quae praedicaturi sunt, inponentes, dominica die ora tertia orantes sacraque unctione exemplo prophetarum et regum capita eorum more apostolorum et Moysi ungentes, quia omnis sanctificatio constat in spiritu sancto, cuius virtus invisibilis sancto est crismati permixta, et hoc rite solemnem celebrent ordinationem.

26.Leonis papae de privilegio chorepiscoporum. Hinschius 628.

In divinis enim litteris praecipiente domino solus Moses in tabernaculo dei erexit altare, solus ipse unxit, qui utique summus sacerdos dei erat, sicut scriptum est de eo: Moses et Aaron in sacerdotibus eius. Ideoque id quod tantum facere principibus sacerdotum iussum est, quorum tipum Moses et Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum est, ut chorepiscopi ve presbiteri qui filiorum Aaron gestant figuram arripere non praesumant.

27.De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi. VIII. De unctione Chrismatis et aliis Sacramentis. PL 189, 1655. -...non solum in regibus et sacerdotibus unctionis honor permansit, sed in omnem populum Catholicum effusa est hujus gratiae plenitudo. Ut sicut Christus a chrismate dictus est, eo quod singularis excellentiae oleo unxit eum Deus, ita et participes ejus quotquot sunt, consortes sint tam unctionis quam nominis, et dicantur a Christo Christiani, ut sint sui Christo duce rectores et duces, et offerant Deo quotidianum sacri ficium, ordinati a Deo sanctimoniae sacerdotes. This pseudo-text is found in the name of Cyprian in several editions of his Opera omnia as late as in the 17th century, among others Paris 1616 and 1648.

28.Dionysius Areopagita 2, 1260 pp, 1282 pp, 1302 p, 1307 pp.

29.S.Paciani Epistolae tres, ad sympronianum Novitianum. PL 13, 1065. -Ecclesia est populus ex aqua et Spiritu sancto renatus. Age. Quis fontem Dei clausit? Quis Spiritum rapuit? Quin immo apud nos aqua viva est, ipsa quae salit a Christo: tu, a fonte perpetuo separatus, unde generaris? Spiritus quoque sanctus a principali matre non abbiit: ad te unde pervenit? nisi forte discordantem secutus est, tot sacerdotibus derelictis non consecrata sede contentus, detritum lacum adulterini fontis adamavit. Vestrae plebi unde Spiritum; quam non consignat unctus sacerdos? Unde aquam, quae a matrice discessit?

- 30.S.Augustin De Baptismo contra Donatistas. Lib.4; Cap.24. PL 43, 147.
-CAPUT XXIV. -31. Et si quisquam in hac re auctoritatem divinam quaerat, quanquam quod universa tenet Ecclesia,nec conciliis institutum, sed senper retentum est,nonnisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.
- 31.S.Chrysostom, Homilies on Philippians. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. XIII, 201, 202 n2.
- 32.S.Leonis Magni, Sermo LIX De Passsione Domini. PL 54, 341. See also Maskell II, cxxiii n14.
Traxisti, Domine, omnia ad te, ut quod in uno Judaeae templo obumbratis significationibus agebatur, pleno apertoque sacramento, universarum ubique nationum devotio celebraret. Nunc etenim et ordo clarior levitarum, et dignitas amplior seniorum, et sacratio est unctio sacerdotum: quia crux tua omnium fons benedictionum, omnium est causa gratiarum: per quam credentibus datur virtus de infirmitate, gloria de opprobrio, vita de morte. Nunc etiam carnalium sacrificiorum varietate cessante, omnes differentias hostiarum, una corporis et sanguinis tui implet oblatio.
- 33.S.Gregorius Magni, Moralia in Iob. PL 76, 112.
Et petra fundebat mihi rivos olei. 24. In Ecclesia rivi olei sunt vel sacra dogmata, vel sancti Spiritus gratia. -Quia petrae nomine Christus accipitur, praedicator egregius fatetur, dicens: Petra autem erat Christus (I Cor.x,4). Quae videlicet petra nunc ad usum sanctae Ecclesiae olei rivos fundit, quia in ea loquens Dominus,praedicamenta unctionis intimae emanat..Toties adhuc de petra hac olei rivus funditur, quoties a sancto Spiritu ungendis mentibus auditorum ea quae in libris veteribus de Christo dicta sunt explanantur. Et rivi vocantur olei, quia decurrunt et ungunt.
- 34.S.Isidori Hispalensis, Ep. De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, Lib. II. PL 83, 781-2. See also Eichmann 23.
...indues Aaron vestimentis suis,id est, linea tunica, et superhumerali, et rationali, quod constringes balteo, et pones tiaram in capite ejus, et laminam sanctam super tiaram, et oleum unctionis fundes super caput ejus, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur...3. Quo loco contemplari oportet Aaron summum sacerdotem fuisse id est,episcopum; nam filios: ejus presbyterorum figuram praemonstrasse. Fuerunt enim filii Aaron et ipsi sacerdotes, quibus merito astare debuissent Levitae, sicut summo sacerdoti...9.Quod vero per manus impositionem a praecessoribus Dei sacerdotibus episcopi ordinantur, antiqua institutio est.
- 35.Selecta in Ezek.16. Mitchell 52.
- 36.Ibd.92.
- 37.Cyprian, Letter 69 (Oxford ed.lxx), The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.V,376.
It is also necessary that he should be anointed who is baptized;so that, having received the chrism, that is,the anointing, he may be anointed of God, and have in him the grace of Christ. Further, it is the Eucharist whence the baptized are anointed with the oil sanctified on the altar.
Another rendering:
But further, the Eucharist and the oil,whence the baptized are anointed, are sanctified on the altar.
Cf Mitchell 80.
- 38.Cyril, Myst. Cath.III, 3, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.VII,

150. See also *ibid.* xxx pp art. on effects of Baptism and of Chrism.
39. Tertullian, *De baptismo* VII, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. III, 672.
40. *Apost. Constit.* VII, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. VII, 469.
41. Mitchell 107.
42. *Ibid.* 99.
43. *Ibid.* 84, 87 p.
44. Yvo Carnutensis, *Sermo II De Excellencia Sacrorum Ordinum*. PL 162, 519; Bligh 39.
Unguntur praeterea manus presbyteris et episcopis, ut cognoscant se in virtute sancti Spiritus hoc sacramento gratiam consecrandi accipere et opera misericordiae erga omnes pro viribus exercere debere.
45. Hugo Victorinus, *De Sacramentis* II, iii, 12.
Petrus Lombardus, *IV Sent.*, d. 24. q. 1: *De Presbyteris*.
PL 176, 429; Bligh 40. See also *Messenger* 1, 86.
46. Stephanus de Balgiaco, 1136.. in unctione visibili quae est sacramentum spiritualis unctionis, datur potestas ligandi atque solvendi.
Hildebert, 1134. Ex unctione sortitur persona potestatem consecrandi substantias consecrandas.
Bandinus, 1165. Istis, cum ordinantur, episcopus manus inungit, quo gratiam consecrationis accipiunt.
Messenger 1, 86.
47. *Ibid.* 1, 87. PL 213, 64... caetera praecedentia et subsequencia sunt sollemnitatis.
48. *Corp. Iur. Can.* II, 131.
Et Anacletus Papa, natione Graecus, qui a B. Petro fuit in presbyterum ordinatus, et postea in apostolatus officio Clementi successit, tradit in ordinatione sua, ungendo episcopos more Apostolorum et Moysi, quia omnis sanctificatio in Spiritu sancto consistit, cuius invisibilis virtus sancto chrismati est permixta.
49. *Ibid.* II, 132 par. 4.
Caput inungitur ut ostendatur illius repraesentare personam, de quo dicitur per Prophetam: "Sicut unguentum in capite eius quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron." Caput enim vir Christus, caput Christi Deus, qui de se dicit: "Spiritus Domini super me eo, quod unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus misit me." Manus episcopi inunguntur, ut ostendatur accipere potestatem benedicendi et consecrandi.
50. *Ibid.* II, 132-3 par. 5 and 6.
51. Albertus Magnus, *Compendium theologicæ veritatis*, Parisiis 1564, Liber VI, Cap. xxxvi, 628.
De substantia huius sacramenti sunt sex: Primum est potestas ordinis, quia oportet quod sit episcopus. Secundum est materia, scilicet unctio in sacerdotibus, & tactus illorum quae tangenda sunt, in aliis. Tertium est forma verborum. Quartum est sexus virilis, quia mulier non recipit caractere ordinis. Quintum est intentio recta. Sextum est, quod ordinandus sit baptizatus, quia baptismus est ianua omnium sacramentorum.

52. Albertus Magnus, In IV Sent., d.24 a.38 (ed.Vives, xxx, 79). Bligh 41 p.
Sacramentum hoc habet pro materia in quo ostenditur per similitudinem eius actus et effectus: horum autem ordinum actus ostenduntur in instrumentis quae porriguntur eis ab Episcopo.
53. The Summa Theologica, part III, q.37 a.5, 42 p. Bligh 42 pp.
Principalis actus sacerdotis est consecrare corpus Christi; sed ad hoc datur sibi potestas in acceptione calicis.
See also In Articulos Fidei et Sacramenta Ecclesiae Expositio xvi, opusc.iv, p.121 (ed.Parma 1864). Bligh 44.
Materia autem huius sacramenti est illud materiale, per cuius traditionem confertur ordo: sicut presbyteratus traditur per collationem calicis; ... Forma autem huius sacramenti est talis: Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis et mortuis.
54. Summa, q.37 a.5, 42.
55. Ibid. Bligh 42 p.
... praeparatio in tribus consistit, scilicet benedictione, manus impositione, et unctione. Per benedictionem divinis obsequiis mancipatur, et ideo benedictio omnibus datur. Sed per manus impositionem datur plenitudo gratiae, per quam ad magna officia sint idonei... Sed unctione ad aliquid sacramentum tractandum consecrantur, et ideo unctio solis sacerdotibus fit, qui propriis manibus corpus Christi tangunt... Sed potestatis collatio fit per hoc quod datur eis aliquid quod ad proprium actum pertinet; et quia principalis actus sacerdotis est consecrare corpus et sanguinem Christi, ideo in ipsa datione calicis sub forma verborum determinata, character sacerdotalis imprimitur.
Summa, q.2 a.102, 5 and 9. Ternus 1932, 368.
... specialiter pontifex oleo unctionis in capite ungebatur, ut designaretur quod ab ipso diffundebatur potestas consecrandi ad alios, sicut oleum a capite derivatur ad inferiora.
56. Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (cal290) II, 10, 10, p.40. Bligh 44.
Sane ei qui in presbyterum ordinatur, traduntur sub certis verbis stola et casula, calix cum patena, et etiam inungitur, quae res et verba sunt de huiusmodi sacramenti substantia. Caetera vero praecedentia et sequentia de solemnitate sunt..
57. Maskell II, 248.
Unguntur presbyteris manus sicut episcopis, ut cognoscant se hoc sacramento gratiam consecrandi accipere, et opera misericordiae pro viribus exercere debere erga omnes. Unctio capitis specialiter ad episcopum pertinet, ut intelligat se vicarium esse illius de quo scriptum est, unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo laetitiae.
58. De Septem 189.
Hii consecrant corpus Christi, et ideo manus eorum inunguntur crismate. O quam mundas manus debent habere, qui tam mundissimum corpus Christi tractant et consecrant.
59. Guido de Monte Rocherri, Manipulus Curatorum (ed.Beuilagud 1495), Lib.2, cap.5.ij.
Alii dicunt quod in unctione manuum imprimitur sibi character.
60. Janzon 101.

61.Eichmann, 59 p; Hofmeister 174.

62.Eichmann, 13 p gives several examples of theologians from the 12th and 13th centuries who wrote about the coronation as a sacrament...unctionis regiae sacramentum, and regard the anointing as conferring spiritual gifts at the coronation.

63.Muncey 21.

3.TIMES OF CHANGE.

1. See note 41, chapt.3.2.2.

3.1.The Separation.

3.1.1.Luther.

2. Schütte 185 pp.

3. WA 2, 159. Disputatio ex excusatio F.Martini Luther adversus criminationes D.Iohannis Eccl 1519.
Quod autem sed haereticum et Boemum consclerat, dicens me ignire veteres cineres &c. pro modestia sua facit aut pro officio consecrationis, qua quicquid consecrat consecratum est, nullo alio usus chrismate, quam veneno linguae suae.

4. WA 8, 496, 24.

5. WA 38, 197.

6. WA 38, 206.

7. WA 38, 228.

8. Ibid.

9. WA 38, 230.

10. WA 41, 457.

11. WA 6, 566. Cf Stein 184, n28.

12. WA 8, 540, 12 pp.

das er sie beschirt, mit öle schmirt an fingern, unnd das sie lange kleyder tragen heyst, und gibt fur, das er yhn eyn unaussleschlich maltzeychen (lat. WA 8, 459, 7 indelibilem characterem) der Bestien yn Apocalip.: also, das der, wer des Bapsts pfaffe heyst nicht Christen.

13. WA 10 II, 285, 11. Vom ehelicher leben 1522.

Die eylfft ist die heylige weyhe, nemlich das die blatte und das liebe öle zo starch ist, das es die ehe weg frisset, und auss eym man

keyn man macht.

14. WA 38, 234. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe 1533.
Es könne niemand on ire Weyhe und Cresem das Sacrament wandeln...
solche grosse krafft hat der Cresem.
15. WA 38, 238.
Sie sind mit dem Cresem nicht geweyhet, und haben keine platten.
Wenn man aber grund von inen foddert, wo mit sie beweisen wollen,
das Gott seine macht also an iren Cresem (da Gott nichts von weis)
und an ir opus operatum gebunden habe, So weisen sie uns inn ir
Schlauffen land und sagen, Es sey die meinung der Kirchen.
16. WA 38, 199.
Aber du bist geweyhet, das du es sollest Gott opffern, und bist
nicht zum Sacraments Pfaffen, sondern, zum opffer Pfaffen geweyhet,
wie die wort des weybisschoffs lauten, da er dir den Kelch inn die
gesalbten hand gab, und sprach: Accipe potestatem consecrandi et
sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis. Das mag mir eine verkerete Weyhe
heissen.
17. WA 41, 155. Predigt über den 110. Psalm. 29 oktober 1535.
Das macht der heilig Geist, der mus in den leuten sein und sie zu
solchen Priestern weihen und viel ein bessere salben anstreichen,
denn der Bapst thut. Denn der heilig Geist macht allein die frey-
willigen Priester,
18. WA 38, 236. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe 1533.
Summa, gleich wie der Bepstliche wutiger grawel verstöret hat die
Taufe, Sacrament, Predigt das Euangelij, also hat er auch Ministe-
rium und die Vocatio, beruff und die rechte Weyhe zum Predigamt
odder Pfarramt verstöret durch seinen schendlichen Winckel Cresem.
19. WA 8, 253. Ein widderspruch D. Luthersz ... Herrn Hieronymo Emser
1521. See note 52, chapt.3.1.1.
20. WA 8, 415.
21. WA 12, 190.
22. WA 6, 564, 15 p. De captivitate 1520.
Ex quibus fit, ut is, qui non praedicat verbum, ad hoc ipsum per
Ecclesiam vocatus, nequaquam sit sacerdos, et sacramentum ordinis
alius esse non possit quam ritus quidam eligendi concionatoris in
ecclesia.
23. WA 6, 566, 30 p. De captivitate 1520.
Ac per hoc ordinis sacramentum, si quicquam est, esse nihil aliud,
quam ritum quendam vocandi alicuius in ministerium Ecclesiasticum,
deinde sacerdotium proprie esse non nisi ministerium verbi.
24. WA 6, 566, 7 p.
An Episcopum faciat ordinare tales sacerdotes battologos? An Eccle-
sias et campanas consecrare? An pueros confirmare? Non. Haec vel
diaconus vel laicus quilibet faceret. Ministerium verbi facit sa-
cerdotem et Episcopum.
25. WA 12, 179, 25 p. De instituendis ministris 1523.

Sic etiam pulchre sequitur: Christus factus est sacerdos primus novi testamenti sin rasura, sine unctione, denique sine Characteribus illo et sine omni illa Episcopalis ordinationis larva, fecitque Apostolos omnesque discipulos suos per nullam talem larvam sacerdotes. Quare non est necessaria illa ordinationis larva, neque si assit, sufficit ut fias sacerdos.

26. WA 8, 489, 21 pp. Von Missbrauch der Messe 1521.
In dissem allem darff niemand zweyffeln, denn es ist bewert, das diss priesterthum in der Schrift nyrgent gefunden wird. – 27. Das messe halten als eyn opfer und schmyrte, beschorne priester, wie itzt der brauch ist, nicht anders ist, denn Christum lestern und verleucken, auff heben und wecknehmen seyn priesterthum und alles seyn gesetz.
27. WA 6, 407, 29 p. An den Christl. Adel deutscher Nation 1520.
Drumb ist des Bischoffs weyhen nit anders, den als wen er an stat und person der gantzen samlung eyne aus dem hauffen nehme, die alle gleiche gewalt haben, und yhm befiel, die selben gewalt fur die andern auszzurichten.
28. WA 6, 407. An den christl. Adel 1520.
29. WA 6, 564, 11 p. De captivitate 1520.
Sacerdotes vero quos vocamus ministri sunt ex nobis electi, qui nostro nomino omnia faciant, et sacerdotium aliud nihil est quam ministerium.
30. WA 12, 189, 21 pp. De instituendis ministris 1523.
Verum haec communio iuris cogit, ut unus, aut quotquot placuerint communitati, eligantur vel acceptentur, qui vice et nomine omnium. qui idem iuris habent, exequantur officia ista publice, ne turpis sit confusio in populo dei, et Babylon quaedam fiat in Ecclesia, sed omnia secundum ordinem fiant, ut Apostolus docuit: 1 Kor. 14,40.
31. WA 31 I, 211, 14.
Der beruff und befelch macht Pfarher und Prediger.
32. WA 38, 228–9. Von der Winkelmesse 1533.
Denn es sol und kan im grunde die weyhe nichts anders sein (sol es recht zu gehen) denn ein beruff odder befelch des Pfarrampts odder Predigampts. Die Apostel haben on Chresem allein die hende auff heubt gelegt und gebetet uber die ... Die lieben Beter haben solche Ceremonien gemehret mit dem Cresem und der gleichen ... ist nicht mehr eine Weyhe zum beruff odder Pfarramt blieben, Sondern eine Winckel weyhe worden zu ordinirn Winckel Pfaffen zur Winckel messe und nu endlich ein rechter unterschied und merckmal zwisschen den rechten Christen und des Teuffels Pfaffen. Denn sie dienen der kirchen nicht, sondern sind der greuel, der inn der Heiligen stete alles verstoret und verwuestet.
WA 12, 189, 32. De inst. ministris 1523.
. sacerdotium satanae ...
33. WA 6, 564, 1 p. De captivitate 1520.
Summa, sacramentum ordinis pulcherrima machina fuit et est ad stabilenda universa potentia, quae hactenus facta sunt et adhuc fiunt in Ecclesia.

34. WA 6, 563, 29 p. De captivitate 1520.
Siquidem hinc cepit tyrannis ista detestabilis clericorum in laicos, qua fiducia corporalis unctionis, quo manus eorum consecrantur, deinde rasure et vestium non modo caeteris laicis Christianis, qui spiritu sancti uncti sunt, sese praeferunt, sed ferne ut canes indignos, qui cum eis in Ecclesia numerantur, habeant.
35. WA 8, 429, 29 p.
Ideo ne prolixiores simus, differemus eos in suum tempus, hoc dixisse contenti, Christianum populum esse simplicem, in quo prorsus nulla secta, nulla differentia personarum, nullus laicus, nullus clericus, nullus rasmus, nullus unctus, nullus monachus esse debeat, sed sine ullo discrimine omnes vel coniugati vel coelibes arbitrio quique suo sicut modo in civilibus communitatibus videmus naturaliter fieri ... Qui autem sectem introductis hanc simplicitatem sciderunt in laicos et clericos.
36. WA 6, 370, 24 p. Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament 1520.
Dan der glaub musz allis thun. Er ist allein das recht priesterlich ampt, und lesset auch niemant anders seyn: darumb seyn all Christen man paffen, alle weyber pfeffyn, es sey junck oder alt, herr oder knecht, fraw oder magd, gelert oder leye. Hie ist keyn unterscheidt, er sey denn der glaub ungleych. Cf Lieberg 53.
37. WA 6, 408, 17. An der christl. Adel 1520.
Und wo es geschehe, das yemandt erwelet zu solchem amt und durch seinen miszbrauch wurd abgesetzt, szo were ehr gleich wie vorhyn. Drumb solt ein priester stand nit anders sein in der Christenheit dan als ein amptman: weil er am ampt ist, geht er vohr, wo ehr abgesetzt, ist ehr ein bawr odder burger wie die andern. Cf Vajta 219.
38. WA 6, 562, 30 De captivitate 1520.
Huic tamen tam debili fundamento nixi Characteres effinxerunt, quos huic suo sacramento tribuerent, qui imprimerentur ordinatis indelebilis. Unde, quaeso, tales cogitationes? qua autoritate, qua ratione stabiliuntur?
39. WA 6, 567, 17. De captivitate 1520.
Quantum ergo e scripturis docemur, cum ministerium sit id, quos nos sacerdotium vocamus, Prorsus non video, qua ratione rursus nequeat laicus fieri semel sacerdos factus, cum a laico nihil differat nisi ministerio.
40. WA 11, 412 pp. Dass eine christliche Versamlung ... 1523.
41. WA 12, 172, 14. De inst. ministris 1523.
Nam hoc inventum pulchre papisticum est, quod solus homo ille peccati debuit excogitare, ut sacerdotes suos Characterem indelebili perpetuos ac nulla prorsus culpa loco movendos redderet, scilicet ut tyrannidem suam stabiliret et impunitam peccandi libidinem firmaret, dum asciscere non licet meliores, et sceleratos istos ferre cogeremur.
WA 12, 190, 24. De inst. ministris 1523.
Quod si ministri tantum sunt, iam perit ille Character indelebilis, et aeternitas illa sacerdotii nulla nisi ficta est, sed deponi minister potest, si fidelis esse desinat, Rursum ferri in ministerio, donec vel meruerit vel universitati Ecclesiae placuerit, sicut quivis alius civilium rerum inter fratres aequales administrator.

42. WA 8, 540, 12 pp. See note 14.
43. WA 41, 209, 11 p. Predigt über den 110. Psalm. 9 juni 1535.
Wenn ich nicht mehr predigen kan oder wil, trit ich wider in den
gemeinen hauffen, bin wie du, und predigt ein ander.
44. WA 38, 238. Von der Winkelmesse 1533.
Sie sind mit dem Cresem nicht geweyhet. Se also note 15, chapt.3.1.1.
45. WA 38, 236. Von der Winkelmesse 1533.
Sie sollen iren grewel und Cresem behalten, wir wollen sehen, wie
wir Pfarrhern und Prediger kriegen aus der Tauffe und Gottes wort,
on iren Cresem, durch unser erwelen und beruffen geordinirt und
bestetigt.
46. WA 41, 204, 12 p. Predigt über den 110. Psalm. 9 juni 1535.
.das man dagegen kunne verdamnen und verwerffen alle falsche pries-
ter, die sich unterstehen priester zu sein, sicut gentium et papae
sacerdotes facerunt, Das man sie nicht fur priester ansehe, sed
hie auff den einigen Priester sehe, Jenes sind nur eitel larven,
Es wirts nicht tun, das der Babst platen schurt, öle in die hand
schmirt, ein sonderlich kleid anzeucht, das einer euserlich anders
sey anzusehen denn andere Christen leute.
47. WA 41, 205, 30 p. Predigt. 9 juni 1535, as above.
Darumb ein jglicher getauffter Christen, der ist schon auch ein
Priester, nicht durch Bapst noch Menschen dazu gewihet oder gemacht,
Sondern durch Christum selbs jnn der Tauffe zum Priester gezeuget
und geboren. Das ist not zu wissen auch umb des Bepstlichen gewels
willen, Welcher den namen Priester allein auff seinen Gecresemt
und Beschoren huffen gerissen hat, und haben sich damit von den ge-
meinen Christen ausgesondert und gescheiden.
48. WA 8, 504, 12. Vom Missbrauch der Messe 1521.
.gar nichts achte den ertichten carachter, die geschmyrten und ge-
ölten finger, den beschoren kopff und die phariseischen kleyder der
elenden pfaffen. Denn disse alle sind nit got, tzondern teuffels
pfaffen.
WA 38, 206. Von der Winkelmesse 1533.
Und was were als denn seine Weyhe, da er zu solcher Messe geweyhet
ist, anders, denn er aus einem gewyheten Christen inn der Tauffe,
durch seine Bisschoff und Cresem, zu einem Teuffel entweyhet were?
49. WA 38, 220, 15. Von der Winkelmesse 1533.
Zum adern ist das auch war, das unter dem Bapstum nie kein Pfaff
zum Pfarher odder Prediger geweyhet ist, sondern allein zum Winckel
Pfaffen.
50. WA 38, 197. Von der Winkelmesse 1533.
Aber die Türcken und Heiden thun auch alles inn iren Kirchen aus
befelh und ernstlichem gehorsam. Die Pfaffen Jerabeam zu Dan und
Bersebe thetten alles, vielleicht mit grösser andaht, weder die
rechten Priester zu Jerusalem. Wie wenn deine Weyhe, Cresem und
Consecrirn auch unchristlich und falch were wie der Türcken und
Samariter?
51. WA 12, 182. De inst. ministris 1523.

- W. Stein 189 pp attempts to answer the question whether Luther recognized the validity of the Roman ordination. In the light of what Luther himself wrote, this question is incorrectly put. Since Luther time and again underlined that all Christians are priests without discrimination, the issue of the ordination of priests is of less interest. Instead it must be asked whether Luther regarded the priests of the pope as Christians, and when Luther denied that they can be called Christians (see for example WA 8, 540, 12 p, in note 12) the answer is obvious.
52. WA 8, 253, 21 p. Ein widderspruch D. Luthersz ... Herrn Hieronymo Emser 1521.
Und ist keyn spruch mehr ym newen testament, der von pristern sage, denn disse drey. Die andern alle nennen Emssers priester nit priester, ssondern Diener, Wechter und Allten, damit der heylich geyst unss leret, das nit ole, weyhet, platten, casel, alben, kilch, mess, predigt a. priester mache und gewallt gebe, ssondern priesterschafft unnd macht muss tzuvor da seyn, auss der tauffe mit bracht, alle Christen gemeyn durch den glauben, der sie bawet auff Christum, den rechten ubirsten priester, wie hie S. Peter sagt. Cf Brunotte 156 p; Stein 67 p, 151.
53. WA 6, 407, 13. An den christl. Adel 1520.
Dan alle Christen sein warhafftig geystlichs stands, unnd ist unter yhn kein unterscheyd, denn des ampts halben allein, - 19 p. Das aber der Bapst odder Bischoff salbet, blatten macht, ordiniert, weyhet, anders dan leyen kleydet, mag einen gleysner und olgotzen machen, macht aber nymmer mehr ein Christen odder geystlichen menchen. Dem nach szo werden wir allesamt durch die tauff zu priestn geweyhet, wie sanct Peter i Pet.ij. sagt. Cf Vajta 202.
54. WA 6, 563-564, extract. De captivitate 1520.
.quo clerici et laici plus discernentur quam coelum et terra, ad incredibilem baptismalis gratiae iniuriam ...
.qua fiducia corporalis unctionis, quo manus eorum consecrantur ...
.Qui si cogerentur admittere, nos omnes esse aequaliter sacerdotes, quotquot baptisati sumus, sicut revera sumus, illisque solum ministerium, nostra tamen consensu commissum ... Sic enim i Pet.ii. dicitur.
.Sacerdotes vero quos vocamus ministri sunt ex nobis electi, qui nostro nomine omnia faciant, et sacerdotium aliud nihil est quam ministerium.
55. WA 12, 317, 10 p. Epistel S. Petri gepredigt und ausgelegt 1523.
Denn es ist alles eyn ding, priester, getauffte, Christen. Wie ich nu nicht leyden soll, das sich die beschmyrten und beschorne alleyn Christen wollten heyssen und getauffte, so wenig soll ich auch leyden, das sie alleyn priester wollen seyn.
56. WA 6, 370. Sermon von dem NT 1520.
57. WA 6, 408, 11. An den christl. Adel deutscher Nation 1520. Cf Schütte 156.
58. WA 8, 489, 2 p. Vom Missbrauch der Messe 1521.
59. WA 12, 178, 26 p. De inst. ministris Ecclesiae 1523.
Sacerdos enim novo praesertim testamento non fit, sed nascitur, non ordinatur, sed creatur. Nascitur vero non carnis, sed spiritus nati-

vitae, nempe ex aqua et spiritu in lavacro regenerationis. Suntque prorsus omnes Christiani sacerdotes, et omnes sacerdotes sunt Christiani. Cf Vajta 273.

60. WA 12, 191, 18. De inst. ministris Ecclesiae 1523.
Deinde cum quilibet sit ad verbi ministerium natus e baptismo, et Episcopi papales nolint dare verbi ministros.
61. WA 38, 247. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe 1533.
62. WA 6, 407-493. An den christl. Adel deutscher Nation 1520. Cf Lieberg 57.
63. WA 6, 566, 26 p. De captivitate 1520.
Esto itaque certus ..., omnes nos aequaliter esse sacerdotes, hoc est, eandem in verbo et sacramento quocunque habe potestatem.
64. WA 41, 208, 7 p. Predigt über den 110. Psalm 9 juni 1535.
Als hie wird einer nicht ein burger, wenn er zu einem burgmeister erwelet wird, sondern er ist vor hin burger, da hat er sein burgerrecht von, darnach welet man in zum ampt aus dem hauffen, bringt also sein burgerrecht mit sich inn das burgermeister ampt ...
18 p ... Kirchendiener, Prediger, Pfarherr odder Seelsorger, Diese sind nicht Priester (wie die Schrifft pflegt Priester zu nennen) umb des beruffs oder ampts willen, so sie haben, sondern sind es schon zuvor, vor jren ampt, von jrer Tauffe.
65. WA 8, 496, 22 pp. Vom Missbrauch der Messe 1521.
66. WA 12, 178-179. De inst, ministris Ecclesiae 1523.
67. WA 12, 182. Ibd.
68. WA 38, 228, 6 pp. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe 1533.
69. WA 6, 564, 15 p. De captivitate 1520.
Ex quibus fit, ut is, qui non praedicat verbum, ad hoc ipsum per Ecclesiam vocatus, nequaquam sit sacerdos, et sacramentum ordinis aliud esse non possit quam ritus quidam eligendi concionatoris in Ecclesia.
70. WA 6, 566, 30 p. Ibd.
Ac per hoc ordinis sacramentum, si quicquam est, esse nihil aliud, quam ritum quendam vocandi alicuius in ministerium Ecclesiasticum, deinde sacerdotium proprie esse non nisi ministerium verbi.
71. WA 31 I, 211 14 p.
Alle Christen sind Priester. Es ist war, alle Christen sind priester, Aber nicht alle Pfarrer. Denn uber das, das er Christen und priester ist, mus er auch ein ampt und ein befohlen kirchspiel haben. Der beruff und befelh macht Pfarher und Prediger. Cf Vajta 211.
72. WA 38, 236, 30 p. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe 1533.
Wir wollen sehen, dass wir Pfarrer und Prediger kriegen aus der Taufe und Gottes wort, ohne ihren Cresem; durch Erwählen und Berufen sollen sie ordiniert und bestätigt sein. Cf Schütte 159; Stein 187.

73. WA 38, 238, 7 och 256, 3. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe 1533.
Cf Vajta 217; Stein 188; Andersen 165.
74. WA Br. 5, 700.
.proprio ritu ordinare seu instituere ministro. Cf Stein 191.
75. WA 15, 721,3.
Ordinare non est consecrare. Sic ergo scimus pium hominem, extra-
himus eum et damus in virtute verbi quod habemus, auctoritatem pre-
dicandi verbum et dandi sacramenta. Hoc est ordinare.
76. WA 6, 561, 26 pp. De captivitate 1520.
77. WA 44, 407, 34 pp and 53, 257, 6 pp. Cf Brunotte 189.
78. WA 52, 569, 18 pp. Genesisvorlesung 1535-45.
79. WA 6, 566. De captivitate 1520.
80. WA 8, 500, 21 p. Vom Missbrauch der Messe 1521.
81. Bradshaw 4.
82. Heubach 85.
83. WA 10 II, 240, 9 pp. Antwort deutsch auf König Heinrichs Buch 1522.
Da ich vom sacrament der weyhe gesagt hatte, das es keynen grund
ynn der schrifft hette, tzeucht er an den spruch Pauli ad Tit. 1 ...
Das ist der eynige spruch yn gantzen buch, der eynen scheyn hatt
tzur sache. Denn dass er auch dasselbs antzeucht die spruch 1. Timo.
3 von dem henden aufflegen, sihet yderman wol, das es von eym heynt-
zen kopff dahyn tzogen wirt, und nichts tzum priester weyhen gehört,
wie act. 8.13.20. die Aposteln pflegten die hende aufftzulegen allen
glewbigen.
84. WA 53, 257, 6 pp. Exempel, einen rechten christlichen Bischof...1542.
Aufflegunge der Hende, die Segenen, bestettigen und bezeugen solchs
(the unity of the Church through the election), wie ein Notarius und
Zeugen eine Weltliche sache bezeugen, und wie der Pfarrherr, so Braut
und Breutigam segenet jr Ehe Bestetiget oder bezeugnet, das sie zuvor
sich genomen haben und offentlich bekend.
WA 44, 407, 37 pp. Genesisvorlesung 1535-45.
Ministri vero imponimus manus, et simul fundimus preces ad Deum,
tantum ut testemur esse ordinationem divinam cum in his tum in
aliis omnibus statibus Ecclesiae, politiae et oeconomiae.
Cf Brunotte 189.
85. WA 52, 568, 22 pp. Hauspostille 1544. An S. Andreas tag. Cf Schütte
159.
86. WA 43, 524, 32 pp. Genesisvorlesung 1535-45. Cf Schütte 158; Heubach
108 p.
87. WA Br 7, 302.
88. Despite the fact that Heubach, 105 pp and Lieberg, 213 pp, mainly with
the aid of Luther's lectures on Genesis bear out the significance
of the imposition of hands, they cannot verify that it is the charac-

teristic of ordination for Luther.

See also WA 12, 193-194; WA 44, 407, 34 pp; WA 52, 568, 22 pp, WA 52, 569, 15 pp where, in the last example, the intercession is given a more prominent place for the ability to practise the ministry. In WA 43, 599, 36 p, Luther could even write that the imposition of hands is not a human tradition and that it does not mean anything less than that it is God who blesses through the imposition, as it was he who blessed through the imposition of the patriarch Isaac's hands without it being an ordination.

89. Rietschel 9 pp, 66;
Rietschel Liturgik II, 423;
WA 38, 409 p. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe 1533;
Sehling I, 24 pp.
90. After Sehling I, 27. Cf Brunotte 188 p; Lieberg 191 p.

3.1.2. Lines of Development.

1. Ego possem quoque facere (sc. the imposition of hands), sed quia varia Schwerkerei sequeretur, nolo. Qui eligitur ab ecclesia et acceptatur, hic est ordinatus. After Lieberg 188, n119. Cf Drews 403; Stein 197, n86.
From a letter by Luther, WA Br.7, 302, some scholars have also traced a controversy between Luther and Bugenhagen after an ordination in Wittenberg on the 20th October 1535, executed by Bugenhagen himself. It is difficult to determine if this ordination took place without the imposition of hands. Luther wrote:
Remittimus vestrum Ioannem per vos vocatum et electum, per nos quoque examinatum et publice coram nostra Ecclesia inter orationes et laudes Dei in vestrum comministrum ordinatum et confirmatum ad mandatum Principis nostri, licet D. Pomeranus (Bugenhagen was called this) non satis facilis ad hoc fuerit, ut qui adhuc sentit, quemlibet in Ecclesia sua ordinandum per suos presbyteros. Quod fiet tandem, ubi ista res nova et ordinatio radices altius egerit et mos firmior factus fuerit.
2. Sehling VI I, 348 pp.
3. Sehling V, 502 p.
4. Sehling V, 503.
Lat uns bidden. Almechtige ewige vader, de du hefft dorch unsen einigen mester Jesum Christum uns also geleret, de arne is vele, averst weinich sint der arbeiders, darumme biddet den heren der arne, dat he arbeiders in sine arne sende, welcke worde uns vormanen, gude arbeidere, dat sint predikere, van diner gnade mit ernstliken bede to vordere. Wi bidden dine gruntlose barmherticheit, dat tu machst ein gnedich upseent hebbe up dussen dinen knecht, unsen erwelden prediker, dat he vlitich si mit dinem worde, Christum Jesum unse einige salicheit to predekende, de consciencie to underrichtende und to trostende, to strafende, to bedrouwende, to vormanende mit aller lanchmodichet und lere, dat jo dat hillige evangelium reine ane todont menschliker lere stede bi uns blive und frucht bringe der ewigen salichet mank uns allen, dorch den sulvigen Jesum Christum unsen heren. Resp. amen.

5. Sehling V, 502. -Character indelebilis is erdichtet. Smeren und scheren helpet to dussem ampte nicht.
6. Sehling IV, 332.
Darna up einen sondach schal de sölvice predicant vor dem altare, so idt eine stadt is, na der epistel mit upleginge der hende dorch de andern predicanten, unde etlicke van der gemeene, unde den oldesten angenamen werden unde der kercken bevalen mit den ceremonien in der Lübeschen ordeninge vorvatet.
7. Sehling IV, 424-425.
8. Cf Lieberg 188, n119 p.
9. Sehling XI, 290.
10. Lieberg 360 pp.
Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Leipzig 1901 - art. Knipstro.
Grützmacher 373 p.
11. CR 7, 740 pp. ... ac posse vere vocatum et ordinatum esse aliquem, qui hoc ritu non est usus, et ministerium ejus est efficax.
12. Ipse manus imponit, et benedicit ministerio. CR 7, 742.
In a letter of the 1st of November 1555 in connection with the Fredaran ordination conflict, Melanchton wrote: Illud verum esse, quod hic ipse gestus impositionis manuum sit res non necessaria, sicut olim in eo ritu hic gestus fuit, librum Evangelii imponere capiti eius, qui ordinabatur; sed astutia non est probanda, quod hoc praetextu totus mos examinis et approbationis et precationis tollitur, quia hic gestus non sit necessarius. CR 8, 597 p. From Lieberg 364.
13. SKB 223.
14. CR 4, 190 pp, quote 214. De sacramento ordinis. Elementum vero huius sacramenti, secundum generalem eius rationem, est impositio manuum Episcopaliū, qua significatur electos confirmari in opus ministerii, et accipere potestatem praedicandi verbi, consecrandi Eucharistiam, administrandi sacramenta, ordinandi omnia in Ecclesia, ad aedificationem, et coherendi rebelles ac criminosus.
15. CR 7, 180; 7, 742; 15, 1334.
16. Lieberg 354, n74.
17. Ibid. - quote CR 7, 180.
18. Lieberg 342, n14. On the edification of the ordination of Melanchton.
Lieberg 343, 352 p.
19. Lieberg 356, 347.
20. Ibid. 340 p.
21. Ibid. 351.
22. Ibid. 355, n85.

23. Chemnitz 479; Cf Holmström 123 p; Andersen 169; Askmark 418 p.
Et haec seria oratio in ordinatione ministrorum, quia nititur mandato et promissione divina, non est irrita. Hoc vero est quod Paulus dicit: Donum quod est in te, per impositionem manuum.
24. Chemnitz 481. Sed unctio est, de qua praecipue Pontificii pugnant, quando de Sacramento ordinis disputant, id quod non dissimulat V. Canon.
25. Chemnitz 481.
26. Gerhard, Locorum Theologic. Tomvs XII, Tvbingae 1774, 145 ... consecratio personae idoneae.
27. Grützmacher 365.
28. Askmark 415 p.
29. Bucer 7, 124.
Merck, wie die diener der Kirchen erwehlet werden sollen, und das die gabe des heiligen geists den Kirchendienst wol zu verrichten mit dem hentufflegen der Eltisten gegeben wirdt. Auch das denen allein die hend uffzulegen sind, die durch anzeig des h. Geists, der in inen würcket, täglich erkennenet werden, wie Timotheus anzeigt warde, durch die weissagung.
30. Bucer 7, 139, 35 p.
31. Bucer 5, 159, 27 p.
Was is diss hendufflegen, ists nit ein zeichen gewesen dess ubergeben H. geysts und geystlichen ampts? Wie auch das anhauchen des Herren, als er seinen jungern den H. geyst ubergabe nach der ufferstentnuss, Johan. 20(22).
32. Sehling VIII, 59.
.aut adiutores episcoporum ordinentur, unus manus imponentium dicat: Accipite spiritum sanctum etc. Dum vero aliis manus imponuntur, unus eorum dicat: Impleat te Dominus spiritu suo, et erudiat cor tuum, illudque fide roboret, ut digne perficias ministerium, ad quod electus es. Resp. Amen.
33. Ibd. ... in ipso nomine tuo manus nostras imposuimus tui spiritus charismate infundas. Cf Grützmacher 365.
34. Whitaker 89 ... ut ista hodie signe apud minime paucos, magis retinendae, & augendae superstitioni, ac ludis, quam pietati seruiant, atque religioni.
35. Bergendoff 76 p.
36. Ibd. 13.
37. Kjöllnerström STK 1936, 237.
38. SRA I:1, 96. Weibull, 127.
39. GR I, 368.

40. Ingebrand 36.
41. OPSS 1, 377.
Och är wetandes ath Christus jngen annor materiam haffwer taghit til döpelsen vtan watnet aleena, ändoch aff människios stadgar är sidhan vpkommet at man smörier them som döpas medh Olio blandat med Balsamo (thet man och kallar Chrismo) hwilkit doch jntit aff nödhen är, epter thet Christus icke minssta ordet ther omrördt haffuer ... troo sättis nw til samma smörielsen ... man faller på knä ther Chrisman fram-bärs, hwilkit icke skedde om man icke satte troo vppå, ath ther vtinnan wore noghon heligheet och krafft.
42. OPSS 1, 393.
Ath samme siälswachtare eller soknaprester skola wiyas och smörias, kan icke bewisas aff scrifftenne, ty wij äre alle smoorde aff them helga anda som Christne äre, doch är theras wiyelse vpfunnen j then Romerska kyrken.
43. OPSS 1, 396.
Olio smörielse, then biscopen wigdt haffuer på skära Toorsdagh, och at then smörielsen skal haffua någhen besynnerligh andelig krafft medh sich ... thet kan icke annat wara än en klaar människio dicht.
44. SRA I:1, 120, Rodhe Svenskt, 344 p.
45. Brilioth 50 p.
46. Kjöllersström STK 1936, 231.
47. Ibid. 233.
48. Stolt Svenska, 27, claims that changes in the ordination ritual can have been made as early as in October 1532. Kjöllersström STK 1936, 236 p, would rather date the first change to October 1536. Rodhe Swedish, 457, 477 seems to assume that the medieval ordinals were in use until 1561.
49. Andrén Konf., 260 n45. ... oleum vero et chrisma papisticum finem accepit circiter annum D. 1540.
50. Kjöllersström KÅ 1931, 192 pp.
51. Rodhe Dopritualet, 29.
52. Stolt Svenska, 28.
53. Quensel 121; Bergendoff 231; Ahnfelt 406; Kjöllersström 16: superintendent.
54. Quensel 120; Yelverton 10; Rodhe Doprit., 28.
55. Kjöllersström KÅ 1931, 192 p.
56. Rodhe Doprit., 28 pp; Kjöllersström ibd. 195.
57. Kjöllersström KÅ 1931, 202; Bergendoff, 236 p.
58. Ahnfelt 407 pp, 414.

59. Kjöllerström Sätt, 15.
60. Ahnfelt 373.
61. Van Haag 73; cf Kjöllerström Sätt, 18.
62. Dialogus, Wittenberg fol. 107 p; cf. Ahlberg 264 pp.
63. Dial.126. Må tu thet wel hålla för en åtskilnat emellan prester och leekmen så lenge som tigh synes/ likvel skal tu weta at j förtijdhen stodh then åtskilnat them emellan huarken uthi thesso stycke eller någhot besynnerlighit offrande/ uthan allenast j thy som iagh nu sadhe/ at presten war en uppenbar och almenneligh tienare j församlingenne.
64. Ibd. 126-7. Men uthi Christenheten ther lekamligh börd intit achtas/ lekamlig smörielse eller wiyelse/ utan alt thet som andelighit är/ äro alle the som genom trona på nytt födde och Gudz barn wordne äro/ thet är alle rettsinnighe Christne prester, och andeligha offrare/ the ther andeligh offer göra. Cf Askmark 68.
65. Dial.128. Och kan man icke retzligha seya när thenna smörielse olian wardt först uptaghen ibland the Christna så till seyande/ doch är thet lika mykit när och aff hvem thet skedde/ först at wi then uppå wisse äro/ at hon icke är för nödhenne/ icke befalt aff Christo eller Apostlarna.
Askmark 391, claims that Dialogus mostly dealt with the question of anointing, but the conversation only touched this question in the fourth chapter.
66. Färnström 144 p.
67. Om Kyrkostadgar och Cereemonier, Wittenberg 1587, 81.
Men hvad the Påveske sedhan haffua uppfunnet och brukat för wiyelse/ synnerliga til olio och chrismo/ för huilko the och haffua knechtat och bugat/ lijka som för sielffuom Gudh? Ja/ för en styggelig affgud/ then the ther aff giordt haffua.
68. Ahlberg 282 pp; Askmark 69 p.
69. Refutatio, Probatio veri et falsi sacerdotii, Wittenberg 1588, fol. 1-3.
70. Ibd. 5. Et est primum hoc, quod sacramentum Eucharistiae consecratur virtute vestrae rasurae & uncturae per quae fingitis characterem indelebilem vobis imprimi.
71. Ibd.
At rasi & oleati soli non sunt illae Ecclesiae, sed omnes qui confitentur se a suis peccatis in sanguine Christi lotos esse, Igitur & illos omnes fecit Christus Deo patri suo reges & sacerdotes, sacerdotio scilicet vero & aeterno, non caduco & momentaneo, quale est fictum sacerdotium papisticum.
72. Ibd. 43 ... dum permittitis caput & manus tangi et liniri Chrismate & Oleo, quod sanctum vocatis, cum tamen sit execrabile idolum.
ibd. 51 Idem & de vestra unctione dico ... magicas consecrationes & idolatriam ... abominatio appellari.

73. Ibid. 51.
74. Ibid. 79-80. Verum & unicum novi Testamenti sacerdotium pertinere ad omnes fideles Christi, consecratos & unctos, non per idolatras episcopos papisticos, oleo idolatrico, corrupto et rancito, ac conceptis preculis in papisticis agendis contentis, vt vestri sacerdotes ad offerenda Deo ventri sacrificia mortuorum, consecrantur, Sed per Verbum DEI viventis ac permanentis in aeternum, & per S.S. unctionem scilicet incorruptibilem, baptismum aquae fecundante, ad offerendas spirituales hostias ...
75. Askmark 369.
76. A survey is given by Pockock.
77. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 1, 202.
78. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 79 p.
79. Ibid. 1, 146 p.
80. Henricus VIII, Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, transl. 1683.
Indeed I admire that any one should be so distracted as to doubt, whether Grace is given by the Sacrament of Orders to the Priests of the Gospel; whereas we may read many Places, that seem to signify that Grace was confer'd on the Priests of the Old Law. That God saith, You shall Anoint, and Sanctify Aaron, and his Sons, that they may Exercise to me the Office of Priesthood. Otherwise, what should this Exterior Sanctification have signify'd for the Honour of God, if God had not likewise Infus'd Grace, by which they should be likewise Interiorly Sanctified? And that also through Christ; The Faith of whose coming, gave force and strength to precedent Sacraments, even as it made the Jews capable of obtaining Eternal Salvation.
But if any one will not admit, that Grace was confer'd to the Priesthood of the Old Law; yet has he no reason to deny the Infusion of Grace into the Priests of the Evangelical Law: Because now, through the Passion of Christ, The fullness of Grace is come.
81. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation I, 133.
82. Ibid. 144.
83. Tyndale, Parker Society 32, 9.
84. Ibid. 130.
85. Ibid. 224.
86. Ibid. 228-9.
The uncertainty as to what the most essential element in the ordination was, is also found in Tyndale's Obedience, ibid.258.
Cf Messenger 2, 164n and Bradshaw 7.
87. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 1, 145.
Tyndale Parker Society 38, 2.

88. Tyndale ibd. 19 p.
89. Ibid. 176.
90. Messenger 1, 246 pp.
91. A third of the bishops, according to Messenger 1, 247.
Ibd. 257 pp. Cf Bradshaw 8.
92. Messenger 1, 258; Lloyd 105. Cf Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 38.
It might possibly be added that during the years 1538-39 serious negotiations were held with the Lutherans in Germany.
93. Messenger 1, 278 p; Tavard 10; Bradshaw 9 p; Burnet A History 3, 211.
The questions and the answers are recounted in their entirety in Burnet A History 3, Appendix.
94. Burnet A History 3, Appendix xcix pp.
95. Bradshaw 11; Messenger 1, 301 pp. Rationale is published with comments in Cobb, The Rationale.
96. Messenger 1, 301 pp.
97. Cobb 14-5.
7. OLEUM CHRISMATIS.
The use of holy oil and chrism is convenient and laudable to be observed, for it signifyeth principally the Imperial and priestly dignity of Christ and his anointing with the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost above all creatures, and secondarily the defacing and abolishing of all the consecrations of the old law which were dedicate in oil, and therefore in Cena Domini the old oil is burnt and destroyed and new consecrated, signifying thereby, the new regeneration of Christ, and the holy inunction which we have by his spirit, and it admonisheth us of our state and condition which we have by Christ, for as of Christ Christ is named, so of Christ we be called Christians. In figure whereof kings priests and prophets were anointed to put them in remembrance also of brightness of conscience and sweet odour of fame to God's glory and edifying of their neighbour.
98. Bradshaw 10. King's Book is published in Lloyd, 277-289 on the ministry.
99. Lloyd 277. Messenger 1, 297.
100. Messenger 1, 292. Bradshaw 15 assumes that consecration can refer to anointing or some similar ceremony.
101. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 92 p.
102. Messenger 1, 331.
103. Ibid. 335.
104. Messenger 1, 452. Cf Cirlot 352 and Denny 121 pp.
105. Cranmer, PS 24, 514 p.

106. Messenger 1, 453. Cf Frere 88, 218 and Bradshaw 18.
 107. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 113; Burnet A History 1, 394 p; Procter 61.
 108. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 114; Burnet 4 History 1, 395; Bradshaw 18.
 109. Dix 32; Messenger 1, 451.
 110. Messenger, The Lutheran Origin convincingly presents Bucer's draft and the new ritual parallel in print, and shows the similarities on point after point. Although Messenger is considered the first who clearly pointed to the origin of the order of 1550, Hardouin 99 as early as in 1725 mentioned Bucer's influence on its forming. Several scholars have studied the question of the origin of the ritual. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 114 p; Procter 71 pp; Smyth 229 pp; Cumming 93; Bradshaw 20 pp. The last would rather not wholly recognize the Lutheran origin of the order. The question of to what degree Bucer is to be regarded as a Lutheran when the ordination is concerned is studied more closely in the chapters 3.1.1. and 3.1.2.4.
 111. Bucer Scripta Anglicana. -De Ordinatione Legitima Ministrum Ecclesiae Revocanda 1549, 255.
Significat enim & representat illa manuum impositio, directionem, corroborationem, & protectionem manus Dei omnipotentis, qui possit is qui orinatur, suum praestare & perficere ministerium, ad gloriam nominis Dei, & salutem Ecclesiae.
A letter from Calvin of the 22nd of October 1549 to the Protector can also be of interest in this context. Calvin turns against anointings and refers to Bucer in order to make the Protector abolish the superstition. Procter 68 n2.
 112. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 125. Messenger 1, 475 specially points at the anointing as a sign of a sacerdos.
 113. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 116. *Notes 114-126 in Supplement.
- 3.2. The Medieval Heritage.
1. The Pont. Rom. 1485 used here is Pont. Rom. 1485 Bodl.Lib. Auct.I.Q.I. 26. Cf Kleinheyser 1962, 217 pp; Richter 80 pp.
 2. Bodl.Lib. Auct.I.Q.I.26, fol.xxi pp.
 3. Kleinheyser 1962, 203, 220, ibd. n22. The rubric stresses that the hands should under all conditions be kept together.
 4. ... et non cum crismate sed cum oleo cathecuminum ungit...
This direction not to use chrism disappeared as of the pontifical of the year 1503.
 5. Andrieu II, 347 n27.
 6. Kleinheyser 1962, 220.
Pont.Lib. 1485:
Consecrare et sanctificare digneris domine manus istas: per istam

unctionem et nostram bene+dictionem:ut quaecumque recte benedixerint benedicantur et quaecumque consecraverint consecrentur. In nomine domine...

PGD:

Consecrare et sanctificare digneris domini manus istas:per istam unctionem et nostram bene+dictionem:ut quaecumque consecraverint consecrentur et quaecumque benedixerint benedicantur et santificentur. In nomine domini...

7. Ibid., see also n2la
Tatsächlich tritt aber durch die Betonung des benedicere die theologisch tiefere Sicht der Händesalbung als einer Bevollmächtigung zur eucharistischen Konzentration stark zurück.
Instead of attempting to find a deeper theological change, the transposition of the words could rather have been caused by a difference in originals - cf Ellard 76 and ibd. n2.
8. The pontificals researched here are:
Bodl.Libr.: Auct.Q.supra II.1 - Liber pontificalis, Rome 1497; (sigma). 5.55 - Liber pontificalis 1503; Douce P.Subt. 12, 13.3.9. Jh - Pontificale secundum...1520; P.22. Jh - Pontificale Romanum 1561; Mason N.183 - Pontificale Romanum 1582; P.2.1 Jh - Pontificale Romanum 1595.
9. Kleinheyer 1962, 222 n34... bene+dictionem: pontifex producit manus dextera signum crucis super manus illius quem ordinat et prosequitur: ut quaecumque... Liber Pontificalis 1497 f 21 v.
10. According to the pontificals investigated above, "et sanctificantur" was added in the pontifical issued in Venice in 1520 but is missing in the pontifical of 1503. - Cf Kleinheyer 1962, 222.
Veni Sancte Spiritus was excluded from the Pontificale Romanum 1561 which was issued in Venice. Cf Kleinheyer 1962, 224.
11. Kleinheyer 1962, 224.
12. 1520 fol.18.
1561 fol.18.
1582 fol.19.
1595 p.57.
13. 1485 and following editions:
Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum celesti benedictione in ordine pontificali. In nomine pa+tris et fi+lii et spiritus+sancti. Amen.
Pax tibi. Et cum spiritu tuo.
14. In the rubric chrism is prescribed, but the anointing formula speaks of both holy oil and chrism.
1485: Ungantur manus iste de oleo sanctificato: et chrismate sanctificationis: sicut unxit Samuel David regem et prophetam: ita ungantur et confirmentur. In nomine dei pa+tris et fi+lii et spiritus+sancti: facientis imaginem sancte crucis salvatoris nostri: qui nos a morte redemit: et ad regna celorum perduxit. Exaudi nos pie pater omnipotens eterne deus: ut quod te rogamus exoremus: Per christus dominum nostrum. Amen.
This occurs unchanged in the following editions of the Roman pontifical with the exception of 1497 in which the abbreviation "scto" is inserted between "oleo" and "sanctificato".

The anointing formula of 1485 is, with the exception of a few details, the same as in PRG LXIII 36 (see Vogel-Elze I, 219-220). In PRG, ita ungantur et consumentur in nomine etc., follows "et prophetam", and et praesta, ut quod te rogamus, exoremus, comes after "omnipotens eterne Deus". Cf Richter 54, n68.

15. 1485 and the following editions:
Deus et pater domini nostri Jesu christi te ad pontifatus sublimari voluit dignitatem, ipse qui per Samuelem David in regem et prophetam inunxit: te nostro ministerio chrismate et mystice delibutionis liquore perfundat: et spiritualis bene+dictionis ubertate fecundet: ut quicquid benedixeris benedicatur: et quicquid sanctificaveris sanctificetur: et consecrate manus iste vel pollicis impositio cunctis proficiat ad salutem. Per eundem xpm dominum nostrum. Amen.
Richter 99, n56 describes differences in the form of this prayer between Ceremoniale Romanum and earlier pontificals (Ibd. 53, n66). CR 1516, XII A corresponds with the printed edition of 1485 with the exception that CR 1516 has omitted "et" in the characteristic introductory words of the prayer: Deus et Pater.
16. In the pontifical of 1497 "electi" was inserted into the rubric and then rears in 1503, 1520, 1561, 1582 and 1595.
17. There are illustrations of the anointings at the ordination of bishops:
1520 fol. 31 the head. fol. 33 the hands.
1561 fol. 29 the head, fol. 31 the hands.
1582 fol. 30 the head, fol. 32 the hands.
1595 p 95 the head, p 103 the hands.
18. See Andrieu III, 557 pp, particularly 569-582.
19. 1485 fol. 231 pp.
It can be quoted from the preface:...hec olei unctio vultus nostros iocundos efficit ac serenos, unde eciam Moysi famulo tuo mandatum dedisti, ut Aaron fratrem suum prius aqua lotum per infusionem huius ungventi constitueret sacerdotem, accessit ad hoc amplior honor, cum Filius tuus Ihesus Christus Dominus noster lavari se a Iohanne undis iordanicis exegisset, ut Spiritu sancto in columbe specie desuper missio... tui potentia, a cuius nomine sancto Chrisma nomine accepit. Unde unxisti sacerdotes, Reges Prophetas et martyres tuos, ut Spiritualis lavacri baptismo renovandis, creaturam crismatis in sacramentum perfecte salutis...
20. Strömberg 89. PR 1487, Royal Libr.Stockholm no.893, fol.18-21.
21. Strömberg 90.
22. Leroquais I, 82, 111, 132.
23. Leroquais II, 35. Leroquais means that the imp.of hands at Accipe Spiritum is a later addition comparable with the crossing of the stole and the presenting of the chalice and paten, ibd.I, LXXIII.
24. Vogel-Elze I, 35.
25. Strömberg 90 p.

26. Müller, Die römische Kurie.
Jedin, Tommaso Campeggio.
Jedin, Geschichte I.
27. Enciclopedia Cattolica XII.
Jedin, Geschichte I-IV.
28. The Catholic Encyclopedia XV. 31 p.
Svensk Uppslagsbok 29, 894.
29. Cod. Vat. lat. 3913, according to Freudenberger 582.
30. Freudenberger 582, 587, 588, 590.
Jedin Geschichte III, 56.
31. Jedin Geschichte III, 56.
32. Ibid. 62-63.
33. Ibid. 64.
34. Ibid. 72.
35. Concilium Tridentinum VI, 98.
Quibus praesuppositis dico populum vel magistratus nullam habere facultatem seu auctoritatem in clerum et clericos seu ordinatos in ministerium Dei ab ipso Domino; nam sacramentum ordinis in lege veteri fuisse institutum a Domino iudico, Exodi 28 (1): Applica quoque ad te Aaron fratrem tuum cum filiis suis de medio filiorum Ysrael, ut sacerdotio fungantur mihi. Ecce, quod de populo debent esse segregati sacerdotes. Et paulo post subdit (c. 28, 41-42; c. 29, 1): Vestiesque his omnibus Aaron fratrem tuum et filios eius cum eo. Et cunctorem consecrabis manus sacrificabisque illos, ut sacerdotio fungantur mihi. Legitimum sempiternum erit Aaron et semi-ni eius post eum. Sed et hos facies, ut mihi in sacerdotio consecrentur. Et in Levitico c. 8 (2) ibi: Tolle Aaron cum filiis suis vestesque eorum et unctionis oleo consecrabis etc. Et Malachie c.2(4) latissime ostenditur, quod iussione Domini sacerdotium erat in tribu Levi et non in alia tribu. In lege autem nova Dominus autem, cum sit ipse sacerdos et sacrificium, ut concilium Lateranense magnum in c. 1 ait, et apostolos vocat eum pontificem (ait: Christus assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum etc.), pro adimplenda legē veteri inici- andaque nova lege, quemadmodum pontifex continet in se omnes ordines, ita ipse Dominus voluit in sua propria persona designare vel, ut verius dicam, gradus in ipso ordine.
36. Concilium Tridentinum II, the August deliberations of 1547, 673 pp.
November about the misuse of ordination, 720 pp.
37. Jedin Geschichte III, 76.
38. Ibid. 344.
39. Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 348.
40. Ibid. 349.
41. Ibid. 358. 10. Unctio non requiritur in ordinis traditione, sed sola

manuum impositio.

Visdomini refers to Calvin, Institutio c. 19, n33:

"Quid oleo cum anima?... An quod Mosi mandatum est de filiis Aaron ungendis? At illic etiam mandatur de tunica, de ephod... Et innumerae aliae observationes, quibus praetermissis miror, cur una unctio olei illis placeat...Foetet igitur eorum unctio, quae sale, id est verbo Dei, destituitur. Superest impositio manuum, quam fuisse ab apostolis observatam constant, quoties aliquem ecclesiae ministerio admovebant... Talem manuum impositionem nemo sanus improbet" (l. c. 1094).

42. Ibid. 365. 20. Unctio chrismatis reiicienda est.

21. Foetet eorum unctio, quae sale, id est verbo Dei, destituitur.

22. Unctionis observatio circuncisione mutto est perniciosior, praesertim ubi accedit superstitio et pharisaica opinio de dignitate operis. Quare chrismatis unctio abroganda est tamquam ab hominibus inventa.

Olaveo, too, brings forward the above mentioned passage in Calvin's Institutio as the origin of the false doctrines.

43. Freudenberger 594.

44. Concilium Tridentinum VII/1, 377, 378.

De sacramento ordinis.

1. Ordinem non esse sacramentum, sed ritum quandam eligendi et constituendi ministros verbi et sacramentorum; imo, quod ordo sacramentum sit, figmentum esse humanum, excogitatum a viris rerum ecclesiasticarum imperitis. - Lutherus de captiv. Babilonica tit. de ordine; Bucerus lib. reformationis; Calvinus lib. institutionum; et Melancthon in locis communibus.

2. Ordinem non esse unum sacramentum, nec infimos nec medios ordines velut gradus quosdam tendere in sacerdotii ordinem. - Calvinus in sua institutione cap. de ordine ecclesiastico.

3. Nullam esse ecclesiasticam hierarchiam, sed omnes Christianos ex aequo esse sacerdotes; et ad usum seu executionem opus esse vocatione magistratus et consensu populi; et qui sacerdos semel fit, eum laycum rursus posse fieri. - Lutherus de capt. Babilonica; Bucerus lib. reformationum; et Calvinus in suis institutionibus.

4. Non esse in novo testamento sacerdotium visibile et externum neque potestatem aliquam spiritualem sive ad consercrandum corpus et sanguinem Domini sive ad offerendum sive ad absolvendum coram. Deo a peccatis; sed officium tantum et ministerium praedicandi evangelium; et eos; qui non praedicant, prorsus non esse sacerdotes. - Bucerus super Ioa. cap. 6; Lutherus de captiv. Babilonica; Calvinus in institutionibus.

5. Unctionem non solum non requiri in ordinem traditione, sed esse perniciosam et contemnendam; similiter et omnes alias ceremonias; et per ordinationem non conferri Spiritum Sanctum; proinde impertinenter episcopos, cum ordinat, dicere: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum. - Calvinus cap. 18 suarum in institutionum.

6. Episcopos iure divino non esse institutos neque praesbyteris superiores neque habere ius ordinandi aut, si habent, id illis esse commune cum praesbyteris; ordinationesque ab ipsis factas sine plebis consensu irritas esse. - Lutherus de capt. Babilonica; Calvinus lib. institutionum; Bucerus lib. reformationis.

45. Jedin Geschichte III, 353. The work from this time concerning the forming of the ordination articles is recounted in Concilium Triden-

tinum VII/1, published in 1961 and in Concilium Tridentinum VII/2 from 1976, and gives the scholar the opportunity to follow the talks from day to day. As the vast majority of the material is recounted in the latter volume, it has not yet been appreciably dealt with in theological research. Thus, the talks will be described here in a rather detailed manner.

46. Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 394,
Prima est: unctionem non requiri in ordinum aliquorum traditione. Haec pars est contra communem et antiquissimam ecclesiae traditionem et consuetudinem. De unctione habet Clemens in epist. ad universos ordines et Anacletus ad episcopos Italiae, et de unctionibus aliis, scilicet altarium et vasorum, b. Leo in epist. ad episcopos Italiae et Germaniae. Et de ritu ordinandi est primus canon apostolorum. Nec credendum est minus utilem esse unctionem in ecclesia, quam antiquitus erat synagogae. At in veteri lege utilis fuit ad multa unctio. Patet 1 Reg. 10 (1) de unctione Samuelis, qua unxit Saul, et 2 Reg. 18 de unctione David et Deut. ultimo de unctione Iosue, de quo dicitur, quod spiritus Dei fuit cum illo, postquam Moyses unxit eum. Et sic temerarium ac falsissimum et ecclesiae iniuriam inferens (est) dicere eam esse perniciosam etc.
Alia pars, scilicet in ordinatione non conferri spiritum sanctum, haeretica est.
47. Ibid. 398. Forma autem habetur in illis verbis: Accipe potestatem offerendi pro vivis et mortuis etc. Materia est impositio manuum episcopi, ut patet ex Paulo 1 Tim. 4 (14): Gratiam, quae est in te per impositionem manuum. Et alibi: Manus nemini cito imposueris. Et quod dicitur de Barnaba et Saulo Act. 13 (3): Imponentes eis manus etc. Unde Ambrosius lib. 5 de dignitate ecclesiastica dicit, quod episcopus initiat et Deus dignitatem praestat. Sed B. Thomas hanc impositionem manuum non esse proprie materiam tenet, sed exhibitionem calicis cum vino et aqua etc., quod verius esse defendit.
Walter's contribution caused justified attention because of its strict scholastic views and its adherence to the resolution in Florence of 1439. It is obvious that Walter did not include anointing in the matter of ordination. - In his journals, Julius Pflug mentioned Walter's statement and here, too, presenting of the chalice and paten were pointed to. - Jedin Das Konzilstagesbuch, 35. Jedin calls Walter Flemish - 35, n36. - Walz, too, describes Walter's contribution, 263.
48. Concilium Tridentinum VII/1, 402 p.
Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 433-439.
The interesting illustrations from the earliest history of the Church, ibd. 436. Dionysius c. 3 Ecclesiasticae hierarchiae: "Iuxta eundem synaxis modum eorum, qui necdum initiati sunt, absolvuntur ordines, ubi scilicet praecessit pontificis circum omnem phani ambitum redolens thure profectio psalmorumque modulatio et lectio scripturarum divinarum. Sumptum deinde unguentum pontifex sacris imponit altaribus, duodecim sacris alis circumtectum, resonantibus omnibus voce sanctissima melos sacrum, quod divinitus (afflati) prophetae didicerunt, completaque oratione super eo solemniter in sanctissimis eorum, quae sacrantur, consummationibus eo utitur ad omnem ferme sacerdotalis officii functionem." Idem eodem capite: "Dicimus igitur unguenti compositionem collectionem esse quandam spirantium suaviter materialium, habentem in se affatim odorates qualitates, cuius qui participes fiunt, pro quantitate eius, quae in illis fit, fragrantis

participationis odoris suavitate replentur." Idem: "Et quod praeterea divinius est, ad omnis sacrae rei consecrationem utitur unguento divino, aperte indicans santificantem eum, qui sanctificatur, iuxta scripturae testimonium, ut qui semper sibi ipsi similis atque idem sit in omni divinae benignitatis operatione. Idcirco et sacrae regenerationis perficiens donum et gratia unguenti sacratissima consummatione perficitur." "Unde, ut opinor, iuxta sacratiorem sensum, traditione divina sancti nostrae sacerdotalis functionis duces honestissimum istud unguenti consecrandi munus teletän ab effectu rei, quae in eo perficitur, nominant." Est enim teletä expiatio, ceremonia ac sacerdotium. Et Augustinus 10 De civitate consecrationem significare dixit. Hactenus divus Dionysius. Secundus testis est divus Cyprianus in sermone De coena Domini: "Hodie in ecclesia cum caeteris unctionibus ad populum acquisitionis sanctificandum in participationem dignitatis et nominis sacrum chrisma conficitur, in quo mistum oleo balsamum regiae et sacerdotalis gloriae exprimit unitatem, quibus dignitatibus initandis divinitus est unctio instituta etc." Idem in sermone De ablutione pedum: "Nam baptismum repeti ecclesiasticae prohibent regulae et semel sanctificatis nulla deinceps manus iterum consecrans praesumit accedere. Nemo sacros ordines semel datos iterum renovat; nemo sacro oleo lita iterum linit aut consecrat; nemo impositioni manuum vel ministeriis derogat sacerdotum, quia contumelia esset spiritus sancti, si evacuari possit, quod ille sanctificat, vel aliena sanctificatio emendaret, quod ille semel statuit et confirmat. Ipse summus sacerdos sui est sacramenti institutor et auctor." - Tertius est Augustinus in Quaestionibus novi et veteris testamenti: "Priusquam Deus in coelos ascendit, imponens manus apostolis ordinavit eos episcopos." Cuius exemplum secuti apostoli Iacobum, fratrem Domini, Hierosolymorum ecclesiae per impositionem manuum cum sacro unctionis ritu episcopum ordinaverunt.

49. Concilium Tridentinum VII/1, 409 p.
Primo eius signum est (impositio manuum), datio vestium, unctio manuum et panis et vini consignatio, (cumque eis cum impositione manuum dicitur): Accipe Spiritum Sanctum etc. Quae omnia cum Christi institutione conveniunt. Ioa. enim 20 (22) Christus insufflavit in discipulos dicens: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Et Luc. 22 (19): Hoc facite in meam comemorationem. Unde episcopus dicit sacerdoti: Accipe potestatem offerendi etc. De unctione autem licet non habeatur mentio in cena, ecclesia tamen habet eam ex traditione; quae re-tenta fuit ob significationem, scilicet Spiritus Sancti, ut declarat Chrisostomus hom. 4 ad Phil.
50. Ibid. 413.
Sanctum etc. Et nisi quis per impositionem manuum acciperet gratiam, non esset sacerdos. Et sicut omnes Christiani non sunt reges, ita non omnes sunt sacerdotes. Verum sicut omnes sumus reges spirituales, ita et sumus sacerdotes spirituales.
51. Ibid. 415.
(Forma autem eius est ordo, verborum, quae in ordinatione dicuntur.) Materia impositio manuum, calicis datio etc. Et gratiam confert, ut habetur multis in locis, Act 6 (6) et 13 (2 sq.); 1 Tim. 4 (14).
52. Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 455.
3. Ex parte materiae et elementi pro unctione sit haec tertia conclusio: Unctio olei benedicti est vera materia, sub qua confertur ordo sacerdotii, perinde ac sub chrysmate episcopatus. Conclusio pro-

batur sic; Unctio huiusmodi vere significat et confert gratiam Dei, quae sub hoc sacramento suscipitur. Ergo est vera materia. Consequentia est evidens ex definitione sacramenti. Antecedens probatur secundum utramque partem: Quod unctio significat gratiam, familiare et tritum est in scripturis. Ita de Christo Esaias (61,1); Spiritus Domini super me, eo quod unxit me. Et Ps. 44 (8): Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo laetitiae. Et Iob cap. 29 (6) dicit: Petra fundebat mihi rivos olei, quem locum sic exponit beatissimus Gregorius: "Petra Christus est; rivi olei sunt varia dona spiritus." The quotation from Gregorius from *Moralia in Iob* l.XIX, c. 15 (PL LXXVI 112 c. 113 B).

53. Concilium Tridentinum VII/1, 420.

Et exemplum Lazari est exemplum admirabili, non imitabile neque praeceptum, licet et id sancti viri fecerint. Deinde aliam attulit conclusionem, videlicet unctionem esse materiam huius sacramenti, quae Spiritum Sanctum significat, ut dicitur: Spiritus Domini super me, quia Deus unxit me; et alibi: Unxit te Deus oleo laetitiae. In qua unctione et manuum impositione gratia confertur, ut habetur ex Paulo 1 Tim. 4 (14) et Act. 6 (6). Quae unctio habetur a lege veteri, quae umbra erat huius unctionis. Unde Cyprianus vocat hanc unctionem reliquias legis; habeturque ex traditione apostolica. Neque propterea judaizamus, cum non significet tantum gratiam ut illa, sed etiam conferat. Quam unctionem a Christo, non ab aarone habemus.

In the material from the work of the theological congregation there is also a detailed presentation of the different articles, in which the fifth article on anointing is motivated. The presentation of the articles is included in the collection of tracts which are published in Concilium Tridentinum XIII. Under the rubric Rev. mi P. generalis Christophori Patavini tractatus de sacramento ordinis, mense Decembri 1551, this additional document from the deliberations of the theological congregation is found. Here, anointing was regarded as an external sign of an inner anointing, and it was compared with the anointing of the old covenant.

Concilium Tridentinum XIII, 142 p.

Prima pars non est contra scripturas Novi Testamenti; nullibi namque hoc prohibetur, nisi diceret, quod figurae cessaverunt. Modo unctio externa figura fuit internae unctionis per Spiritum Sanctum, ut ait Ioannes in canonica: Unctionem habetis a Deo. Similiter Christi unctio figurata fuit per unctionem regum et prophetarum et sacerdotum, qui Christum figurabant. Christus namque rex et propheta et sacerdos extitit, qui tamen non est sensibili unctione unctus, sed invisibili, ut David testatur dicens: Propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo laetitiae prae participibus tuis.

54. Jedin Geschichte III, 353, 356, 358, 377.

55. Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 597.

Haec enim ipsa in ordinandis unctio, qua significatur inter reliquias mysticas significationes gratia spiritus sancti, qui datur tum ordinato, tam non est recens et pernicioiosa, ut fuerit etiam in ordinandis adhibita quasi propter mysterium necessaria tempore Dionysii, qui illam vocat sacratissimum unguentum. Non est ergo talis ceremonialis unctio contemnenda, sicut nec aliae sunt aspernandae piaae ceremoniae, quae in ipsis ordinationibus ex antiquis sanctorum pontificum institutis adhuc exhiberi solent, sed cum summa potius reverentia amplectendae et circa ipsas cordi percipiendae mysticae significationes,

quas prae se ferunt illae, de quibus Viennensis episcopus fuse docet in libro De in ecclesia ordinandis clericis.

On the 7 - 8th of January, the Naumberg-bishop noted in the margin by the article on anointing: Ut et alia quaedam in honorem illorum adhibeamus missas ex instituto ecclesiae, id ego improbare neque de-beo neque possum.

Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 621.

56. Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 672.

Prima particula articuli quinti de unctione et aliis ceremoniis est contra ecclesiasticam traditionem, quae ad nos ab apostolorum tempore et haud dubium ex ipsorum traditione devenit, ut testatur Cyprianus in serm. De chrysmate. Est praeterea contumeliosa in concilium IV Carthaginense, imo in perpetuum usum catholicae ecclesiae. Et proinde haec particula ut blasphemia in ecclesiam est damnanda. Ultima particula est contra verbum Christi Io. 20 (22) et proinde ut haeretica anathematizanda.

Ibd. 680.

Quod deinde ad probandum sacerdotes ungi debere sumitur argumentum ex nomini Christi et Christiani, quae ab unctione deducta sunt, infirma sane sunt argumenta et non probant solos ungendos sacerdotes. Multum decedit ab autoritate sacri concilii, si tam infirmis rationibus innitatur et velit causam suam agere. Praestiterit istis expunctis, quae nihil profecto ad rem confuerunt, solis inniti traditionibus apostolicis, quae hac de re habentur certissimae.

57. Ibd. 648.

Io. Bern. Diaz, episc. Calagurritanus.

D(amnandus.) Militat contra Clementem epist. 3 et Anacletum epist. 1 et id, quod dicit Ciprianus sermone De crismate. Preterea requiri unctionem probat textus in c. uno (X) de 10 sacra unctione (I 15). The sources which are brought forward here are: Ps. Clemens I, epist. Ps. Isidor. 3, c. 58-59 (Hinschius l. c. 53); Ps. Anacletus I, epist. Ps. Isidor. 2, c. 18 (Hinschius 75); Ps. Cyprianus, De unctione chrismatis, potius Ernardus abb. Bonaevall., De cardin. operibus Christi c. 8; vide infra p. 672, 37 s. cum adn. 44. - The 9th of January by Petrus de Augustinis episc. Oscensis: 5. Capite secundo, cum dicitur per sacram unctionem nos participes quodam modo fieri regni, prophetiae et sacerdotii Christi, vocabulum prophetiae delendum est, cum nec a Petro in epistola prima nec a Ioanne in Apocalypsi nec in Exodo ulla prophetiae mentio fiat.

Concilium Tridentinum VII/2, 644.

58. Ibd. 655 p. - Christoph. Mentzler, episc. Constantiensis.

Nam in veteri testamento sacerdotes iussu Dei ungebantur ut Lev. 4 (3,16), Num. 3(3). Quare ergo non lege nova id fieri deberet? Preterea sub illa unctione externa manuali quaedam spiritualis unctio contribuitur ipsius spiritus sancti, quam Christus a spiritu sancto recepit et habuit, Luc. 4 (1), Esai. 61 (1). Proinde in veteri et novo testamento semper fuerunt cerymonie, ut patet, quando David cytharam magna cum religione ante archam pulsavit 2 Reg. 6 (5) et 1 Par. 13 (8). Preterea in novo testamento, quando Christus caecum sanaturus erat, exspuens in terram linivit oculos ut Io. 9 (6). Cum itaque Christus in utroque testamento cerymonias tulit atque suo proprio exemplo easdem instituit et approbavit, non video, cur contemnende sint cerymonie aut tollende existant.

59. Concilium Tridentinum VII/1, 461.

6. Si quis dixerit, unctionem non requiri in sacramenti ordinis traditione, imo esse perniciosam et contemnendam, similiter et omnes alias ceremonias: anathema sit.

60. Concilium Tridentinum IX,5.

Art. 6. Uctionem non solum non requiri in ordinum traditione, sed esse perniciosam et contemnendam, similiter et omnes alias caeremonias, et per ordinationem non conferri Spiritum Sanctum: proinde impertinenter episcopos, cum ordinat, dicere: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum.

61. Ibid. 18.

Est enim in ecclesia sacerdotium visibile et externum. Nam ubi datur sacerdotium per impositionem manuum et unctionem, ibi est verbum sacerdotium.

62. Ibid. 25.

63. Ibid. 29.

Ioannes Polancus SJ: Nam eam necessariam esse idem Innocentius eodem capite ostendit, et ea habetur ex traditione apostolica, cum initium eius non habeatur et universaliter in ecclesia observetur iuxta regulam Augustini contra Donatistas.

64. Ibid. 30-31.

Unctio enim requiritur in ordine sacerdotali. Figura veteris Testamenti: sacerdotes antequam assumerentur, ungebantur. Cap, 29 Ex. Ergo idem fieri debet in novo, ut figura respondeat figurato.

65. Ibid. 32.

Quae unctio in ordinatione necessaria est. Nam et in veteri lege sacerdotes et reges et vasa ungebantur; sic fieri debet in nova. Necessaria autem non necessitate sacramenti. Caeremoniae etiam contemnendae non sunt.

66. Ibid. 35.

Reges etiam in veteri lege inungebantur, licet sacri non essent, ut ea potestas tolli non posset, sed esset in eis perpetua; ita etiam et sacerdotes. Nam multae caeremoniae antiquae in novo Testamento observantur, ut luminaria in altari, vestes, servatio panum propositionis et alia. Impositio etiam manus inutilis non est, licet in nullo sacramento ea necessaria sit. Nam apostoli ea utebantur, ut visibilem (!) Spiritum Sanctum traderent. Neque ad traditionem Spiritus Sancti impositio manus necessaria est; alias essent duae materiae.

67. Ibid. 39.

Hunc enim pertinet, quod legimus, Dominum quidem apostolis calicem in coena tradidisse, post resurrectionem in eos insufflasce, apostolos autem, postquam ieiunassent et orassent, iis, qui ordinandi erant, manus imposuisse, quorum exemplum deinceps sancta ecclesia secuta, in ordinum collatione solemnibus caeremoniis usa est atque inter eas sacram unctionem religiose semper servavit.

68. Ibid. 40.

Canon quintus. Si quis dixerit, sacram unctionem, quae ecclesia utitur, non solum non requiri in ordinum traditione, sed esse perniciosam et contemnendam, similiter ex omnes alias ordinis ceremoni-

as: anathema sit.

69. Ibid. 44.

Naxiensis. Ubi fit mentio de unctione, explicetur, quod habetur per traditionem.

70. Ibid. 45.

Corcyrensis. Ubi fit mentio de sacra unctione, addatur, ex apostolorum traditione.

Ibid. 63. 13th of October 1562.

Archiep. Patracensis et coadiutoris Corcyrencis. – Quinto ubi dicitur quorum exemplum deinceps sancta ecclesia secuta in ordinum collatione solemnibus caeremoniis usa est atque inter eas sacram unctionem, cuperem addendum sacram unctionem ex apostolorum traditione, ut viderent haeretici, hoc figmentum non esse humanum, neque perniciosam eam esse sive contemnendam. Nam sacri chrismatis unctione eodem plane, quo nunc ritu etiam ab ipsis apostolorum temporibus ordinandi consuevisse sacerdotes et episcopos.

71. Ibid. 67.

72. Ibid. 68. V. Episcopi Caprulani, who refers to Innocent III, c. 1, in de sacra unctione, with quotations.

73. Ibid. 76. Cf ibid. 84.

Segobiensis. – Et ultra, communem opinionem canonistarum declarat sancta mater ecclesia in consecratione electorum, ut refert Pontificale Romanum in haec verba: Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum celesti benedictione in ordine pontificali. Quae omnia cum ita sint, poterit quis facile cognoscere, an tota ratio huius sacramenti in hac doctrina sit explicata, circa quam plura essent dicenda alia, quae serio omitto, ne eadem saepius repetam, quae prudentissime a patribus annotata fuerunt, et quorum sententiam sequor, praesertim D. Segobiensis, salva semper sacrorum conciliorum determinatione, a qua recedere non intendo.

This speaker was relatively alone in wishing to draw doctrinal conclusions from the current rituals for ordination and not, like the vast majority of the participants in the council, wishing to change the rituals after the doctrine.

74. Ibid. 87.

Quintus canon continet exclusivam, quae aequipollet huic copulativae: Si quis dixerit, sacram unctionem et omnes alias caeremonias in ordinum traditione non requiri et esse perniciosas et contemnendas etc., cuius prima pars videtur significare, omnes ordinis caeremonias ex aequo requiri, cum qui de singulis earum hoc negaverit, anathemate percutiatur, quod tamen falsum est, quia aliquae earum simpliciter requiruntur, quia sunt de essentia sacramenti, sicut traditio calicis cum vino in ordinatione sacerdotis; alia vero sunt quae requiruntur sola ecclesiae ordinatione, sicut sacra unctio: deinde non videtur percutiendus anathemate qui dixerit, sacram unctionem non requiri, sive intelligat non requiri tamquam de essentia sacramenti, quia verum dicit, sive intelligat ex ordinatione ecclesiae, quia licet falsum dicat, non tamen contra ius divinum, sed contra ius ecclesiasticum; quare ista verba non requiri omnino delenda censerem aut loco illorum substituenda ista superfluum esse.

Paleotti, too, recounted the debate on the ordination of the 13th to the 20th of October in his journals. Concilium Tridentinum III, 445.

Auriensis 16th of October 1562: Caeremoniae non sunt aequales, nam sacra unctio non est absolute necessaria, sicuti traditio calicis, unde non anathemate id solum est feriendum.

75. Concilium Tridentinum IX, 109.
76. Concilium Tridentinum III, 466.
Mutinensis. Illa verba materia et forma usurpantur etiam in concilio Florentino et expressa sunt ad tollendam ambiguitatem.
77. Concilium Tridentinum IX, 154.
Assaphensis... ibi sacram unctionem dicatur unctionem, quia alias de extrema intelligeretur, et loco ordinum dicatur ordinis.
In Psalmai journals, the ordination talks in November and December are also described - se especially: Concilium Tridentinum II, 725 from the 16th of October and ibd. 774 from the 7th of December. From the deliberations in November, also Concilium Tridentinum III, 471; Concilium Tridentinum IX, 186.
78. Concilium Tridentinum III, 490 p.
In 3. cap. non placet id verbum materia et forma, non quia haec verba dispiceant, sed quoniam aperte materia in hoc sacramento non potest designari.
For the suggestion of Lotharingia about minor changes of details in can. 5 on anointing, see Concilium Tridentinum IX, 208.
79. Concilium Tridentinum III, 497.
Generalis Franciscanus observantiae. Quod Lutherus in libro de fals. nom. eccl. dicit, quod episcopi sunt larve papales, et quod evertendum est regimen episcopale. Et idem de captivitate Babylonica, quod quilibet baptizatus potest consecrare ecclesias, et baptizare et chrismare.
80. For example the discussion on the 13th of October about the Augustan Confession, recounted in Concilium Tridentinum III, 443.
81. Concilium Tridentinum IX, 233.
9 (10) of January 1563 - Inter acta Paleotti.
Cuius etiam sacramenti illa praecipue signa sunt: manuum impositio, insufflatio, (unctio, vasorum sacrorum), librorum et aliarum rerum, quae ad ministerium eius pertinent, porrectio et contactus.
82. Recounted by Paleotti in Concilium Tridentinum III, 612 pp. and in the journal of Psalmai in Concilium Tridentinum II, 843 pp.
83. The XXIIIth session is recounted in Concilium Tridentinum II, 866 pp. (the journal of Psalmai); Concilium Tridentinum II, 688 (Mendoca); Concilium Tridentinum III, 692 (Paleotti) and in Concilium Tridentinum IX, 6 pp.
84. A detailed account of the relationship between the office of the priest and that of the bishop is given by Fahrnberger 1970.
85. De Articulis religionis ... consultatio.
p. 28. Quamquam quod docent, per verbum Dei dari Spiritum sanctum, non satis convenit, cum divinis literis quae tradunt Spiritum sanctum non dari, nisi iam credentibus: Imo per fidem accipi Spiritum sanctum, id quod in Apologia quoque agnoscunt. Sed esto

intelligamus per ministerium verbi effici in hominibus fidem quae donum est Spiritus sancti. Hoc modo addendum est, externi istius verbi ministerium, quamvis necessarium, inutile tamen esse, nisi intus Pater per unctionem Spiritus doceat, quod pulchre dictum est ab Augustino (In Epistol. Ioan. tra. 4) ad illud Unctio docebit vos ... Quamvis solo afflatu interiore Spiritus Deus salutem nostram operari potuerit, externum tamen verbi ministerium adhibere voluisse ...

- See also p. 110 on Eck and his account of the anointing. The edition used of Cassander's Consultatio is dated Lugduni MDCVIII (Bodl. Libr. Vet. M. 1 f. 5 (2)).

86. Hughes, Ph. The Reformation 2, 92-3, 114 p, 125.
87. Ibid. 225.
88. Hughes, Ph. Rome, 85 p.
89. Echlin 113; Messenger 2, 141.
90. Messenger 2, 147 p; Dix 75; Echlin 113.
91. Messenger 2, 48; Hughes, J. J. Absolutely Null, 253n.
92. Hughes, J. J. Absolutely Null, 253; Messenger 2, 129.
93. Pilkington, PS, 163.
94. Frere 132; Bradshaw 72. See also in Saepius Officio.
95. Messenger 2, 48-9 n4.
96. Ibid. 154-5. Estcourt 54 p, app. XXIII. Firminger 12-3.
Firminger regards it as very probable that the anointing was left out of Farrar's ordination, if the old pontifical was used as well as if a reformatory order had been drawn up. He adds (13n):
If it was only the case that the anointing with oil was omitted, and that Ferrar's episcopal character was subsequently ignored for this reason, then we have here a remarkable side-light on the debated statement of Pilkington. - Firminger further elicits the different ordinations declared not valid, 14.
97. Bonner, 192.... have, by the imposition of the byshoppes handes, receyved a certayne grace and power to be publyke ministers in the catholyke church. - 194-5... a visible signe (whych is the imposition of hands) and ther with effectuallye concurraunt ans annexed grace.
The used copy is Bodl. Libr. Shelf B.5. 14. Linc., London 1555.
98. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Bonner was forbidden to celebrate Catholic services and was requested either to give up his bishopric or to swear the new oath to the queen. When the bishop refused he was imprisoned on the 20th of April 1560, where he died after nine years on the 5th of September 1569, after the queen had several times attempted to make him obey the Crown - The Catholic Encyclopedia II, 675 p.

99. Messenger 1, 500; Echlin 111.
100. Messenger 2, 33.
101. Ibid. 78; Echlin 111.
102. Messenger 2, 40.
103. The Catholic Encyclopedia II, 675.
104. Bradshaw 40, 42; Echlin 114.
105. Persson 12, 149 pp; Ohlsson 55, 58, 73; Holmquist 73.
106. SRA II, 489; Persson 11 p.
107. Baazius 360 p; Persson 11 p.
108. Baazius 365; Persson 16 p; SRA II, 518 p.
109. Persson 59 pp.
110. Andrén Konfirmationen, 269n. Oss synes intet annat aff nödenne wara en at hoos the siuka schriffta och dela Gudz ordh och sacrament, så at extrema unctio icke görs behoff, och henne wara ige-nom saligh erchebiscopen afflagdh och scrifftligen refuserat aff honom.
111. SRA II, 523 pp.
112. SRA II, 520. Ubsaliensis. ... sed unctio est alius ritus ... Aurum a luto distinguendum erit. - Also recounted by Baazius 372 p.
113. SRA II, 520 p. M. Martinus: Ritus papistici habent speciem mali... Multi ritus sunt indifferentes. ... Unctio non est ritus indiffe-rens sed impius.
114. Ibid. Kjöllnerström Kräkla, 76 p; Ohlsson 73; Persson 122 p.
115. Ohlsson 79 p.
116. SRA II, 526.

John in Vendel wrote to the king's secretary about anointing among other things:

I. Quod senes assueti olim papisticis doctrinis et ceremoniis im-pense sint exultaturi, quod redeant vetera et restituantur.

II. Quod juniores et mediocriter instructi in doctrina christiana scandalizentur, ut prorsus defecturi sint a fide catholica.

V. Quod hoc pugnet cum articulo uno, quo ante biennium hic Upsaliae conclusum fuit in synodo provinciali communi consensu et subscrip-tione ac sigillis, ne post hac novae introducantur ceremoniae prae-ter usitatas et longo usu receptas et comprobatas.

Cf Kjöllnerström Kräkla, 80. Cf Hammargren 27, who takes the view that the reference in V. is to the diocese synod in Uppsala 1573.
117. SRA II, 527.

... cum haec externa unctio officio nostro, quod est spirituale et unctione spirituali gaudet, nequaquam congruat, sed regibus relinquo-

enda, quorum potestas politica est et externa, quae propterea externam unctionem in significationem internae unctionis, qua maiestas illa sancitur, commodè retinet, quoniam quidem haec potestas ab illa etiam hoc ritu discernitur, sicut corona, sceptro et aliis ritibus oportet.

118.SRA II, 527 p.

Vi kunne icke heller vette hvarföre I velle förachte the ceremonier, som bådhe uthi gamla och nye testamentet hafve varit brucklige, ther om många kyrkiones lärefäder hafve gifvit vittnesbördh, hvilket icke nu göres behof att förmälla...

Vi befale eder härmed, at I på våre vegne tillsäije bådhe bispen i Lincheping och andre, at the afstå med sådana theris svermeri, så framt the och i like måtte vele blifve vedh thet høge kall och embete, som the nu hafve.

The following words in the king's letter is of particular interest: "... vår alfvarlige villie och bafalning, att I blifve vid the ceremonier, som edre antecessores, såväl biscop Lars sal. i åminnelse såsom andre, bruket hafve, och äre än nu många i lifve, som och äre vigde til prester medh the ceremonier, som I ogille", since they clearly state - as known circumstances - that anointing was used at the ordinations of Laurentius Petri (1532, 1536).

119.Ohlsson 80; Kjöllersström Kräkla, 80.

120.SRA II, 528.

Ideo in chyrographo meo nulla fit mentio unctionis in ordinatione episcopali usurpandae, sed tantum mitrae, baculi et similium ornatum, cum unctionem illam prae illis in regno pontificio plenam fuisse et adhuc esse superstitionis et impietatis satis intelligerem eamque propterea conscientias laesuram iudicarem, dum interea mitra et baculus nullum concilient cultum vel praesentibus vel posteris, hunc ordinem ab inferioribus tantummodo distinguunt, nec quoque in hac re V. M:tis voluntati obstarem, sed eam ceremoniam hac eadem lege qua priores, in quibus nihil praeteritum agnosco, recipere, consecrationem magicam, sanctimoniam praeter naturam oleo infusam et quamcunque superstitionem a pontificibus fictam reiiciens, nisi timenda essent schismata et alia mala. Clerus enim non acquiescit in nostris declarationibus et rationibus quibuscumque sed videtur minari defectionem ab episcopis, si plures admitterentur ritus, cuius rei priusquam autor esse vellem, me in pristinam et privatam vitam redigi gauderem.

Cf Hammargren 26.

121.SRA II, 529.

122.Gierow 15 pp; Van Haag 104 pp; Stolt Svenska, 31 p; Hammargren 26; Holmquist 51.

123.Kjöllersström Kräkla, 101; Stolt 32;

SRA II, 645 p:

Och när som vi skole viga någre personer till präster, då vele vi, effter som förre brukeligit varit hafver, det mästa oss för våre personer är möjeligit och utan förargelse ske kan, så beställt, at de skole blifva smorde, såsom och derhos hafva ett flitigt in-seende, at tienlige personer måtte till präste embetet blifva kallade.

Cf Holmquist 107.

124. Rodhe Doprit., 52; Svenskt 479; Stolt 33.
125. NO was passed in the summer of 1575 18/6. Ohlsson 101.
The liturgy was approved while not yet printed by the archbishop and the Bishop of Västerås at Christmas 1575.
Ohlsson 82 n3.
126. Holmquist 41 pp.
127. Documenta Historica IV, 22 pp.
Atque utinam error hic in tuo quoque regno non esset receptus, in quo non pauci feruntur eo esse fascinati. Quod si minus etiam essent meriti, qui tam impiam doctrinam approbarent, tamen tu quoque Senne Rex vetreri debes, quamlibet recte sentias de veritate, praesentiaque Christi corporis et sanguinis in Eucharistia, ne loco Christi corporis et sanguinis merum panem pistorium et merum vinum accipias. Nec enim confici Christi corpus, nisi sacerdotis ore potest.
Holmquist 72.
128. Theiner 1, 664; Hammargren 104 pp.
See also letters from Possevino to Sweden, for example of the 31st of July 1580, Theiner 2, 230 pp.
129. Holmquist 80.
130. Morinus 1655, 131; Habertus 1643, 385.
131. SRA II, 1100.
Till thet förste säger hann, att her i Sverige ere inge rätte bishopar eller prester, uthen siälemördare, särkebisper och prester och medh våre embeter följer ingen krafft till saligheten, så och både lärare och åhörare, som ere uthen den romerske kirkion, äre fördömde och förtappade.
132. Cf Van Haag 117 pp.
133. Oil was not called "holy" oil. At the talks in Stockholm in February and March, there had been a discussion about the oil in which the participating bishops appeared to agree that the oil as it was created was good and needed no further blessing.
SRA II, 521; Baazius 372 p; Van Haag 107;
134. At the coronation of Eric XIV:
O du allsmäktige, evige Gud, giv din helige Ande, som är den rätta glädjens olja, uti själ och bröst, att du må visliga och efter Guds goda behag, styra och regera ditt folk. Amen.
At the coronation of John III:
Den allsmäktige, evige Gud give sin helige Ande, som är den rätta (hs:tärrha) glädjens olja uti edra själ och bröst, genom vilkens gåva ni så måge styra land och rike, att alla edra undersåtar därav kunna hava både gagn och glädje. Amen.
After MSS at RA, UUB and KB. Cf Janzon 218 p and appendix 2. Persson 27 attempts, although scarcely convincingly, to find connecting points with the medieval ritual for ordination of priests.
135. Cf Kjöllnerström Kräkla, 86; Van Haag 107; Stolt 1500-talets, 378.

136. Van Haag 73 - Messenius Finlands Rimkrönika, 52:
"I Strängnäs Mäster Botwed Dem wiger efter Luthers sed."

137. Ohlsson 73.

4. AD FONTES.

4.1. Research.

1. Sirmond 3, 128 Epistola Episcoporum e synodo apud carisiacum missa. Ad Ludouvicum regem Germaniae. 129 Et nos Episcopi Domino consecrati, non sumus huiusmodi homines saeculares... Manus enim chrismate sacro peruncta, quae de pane & vino aqua mixto per orationem & crucis signum conficit corpus & Christi sanguinis sacramentum, abominabile est, quicquid ante ordinationem fecerit.
2. Sirmond 3, 236.
3. Hallier 1636, 942.
4. Ibid. 943.
5. Ibid. 945.
6. Ibid. 1006.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. 1007, 1011.
9. Ibid. 1012.
1015 non saltem a tempore Gregorij Magni, vel certe a tempore Caroli, nemo dubitari potest, quin Vnctionis ritus Ecclesias omnes Occidentales pervaserit.
10. Ibid. 1013 marg. Cypr. seu alias auctor. 1020.
11. Ibid. 1017. unde non Iudaizat Ecclesia, cum Vnctionis celebrat Sacramentum.
12. Ibid. 1010. mandatum divinum - Innocent about ordination anointing.
1022 - Hallier's argumentation.
1023 - opus est iterum vntione, a qua non iam Christiani, sed Christi, loco scilicet Christi praesidentes dicamur, iuxta illud scilicet Davidis. nolite tangere Christos meos (id est sacerdotes) & in Prophetis meis nolite malignari.
1023, V, VI about bishopric.
13. Ibid. 1025.
14. Ibid. 1026 pp.
15. Ibid. 1033 p.
16. Ellard 7, n2 designates Hallier's proposition as "a purely specula-

tive handling of the anointing, based on the assumption that it formed a part of the ordination ritual from the beginning".

17. Ellard 6. Hillenardi, Divi Gregorii papae I ... liber sacramentorum ... ex missali ms.
Sancti elegii Bibliothecae Corbeiensis, Parisiis 1642. PL LXXVIII, 25-264.
18. PL LXXVIII, 223, 224.
19. Ellard 7, PL LXXVIII, 502.
20. PL LXXVIII, 491 esse Anglicanum.
21. Ellard 7.
22. PL LXXVIII, 491 Unde oportet vos semper memores esse tantae dignitatis, memores vestrae consecrationis, memores sacrae, quam in manibus suscepistis, unctionis; ut nec ab eadem degeneretis, ne manus sacro unguine delibutas peccando polluat.
23. Ibid. 502, n774
24. Ibid. 504.
25. Ibid. 491 ... quod miror propter auctoritates supra citatas, et quosdam ex codicibus nostris mss., qui usum Romanum sequuntur, ipso Nicolao papa antiquioribus...
26. Ibid. 492.
27. Habertus 1643, 386.
28. Ibid. 387.
29. Ibid. 394 p.
30. Ibid. 389.
31. Ibid. 391, 392.
32. Ibid. 385.
33. Ibid. excepto vno Cardinale Hosio in Cofess. Polonica qui nonnihl ea de re dubitauit;
34. Morinus 1655, 123.
35. Ibid. 124.
36. Ibid. 125, Leo serm. 8 de Passione Domini.
37. Ibid. 127, Concedamus Epistolam illam non esse Anacleti; certum est tamen longe ante Nicolaum vulgatam esse ...
38. Ibid. 126, sed difficile dictu est, an de vnctione spiritali, an de materiali loquatur.

39. Ibid. 125, 126.
40. Ibid. 126.
41. Ibid. Nihil ex Nicolai verbis contra Vnctionem Episcopalem colligi potest: Imo potius contrarium.
42. Ibid. 128.
43. Ibid. 131, Quarta opinio manuum impositioni conjungit in vnitatem materie vnctionem Presbytero in Ordinatione factam. Sententiam istam amplexus est Cardinalis Hosius. Paucissimi aut nulli eum secuti sunt, licet praecedentibus omnibus longe sit probabilior, vt pote, patrum dictis & antiquis. Ritualibus multo conformior.
VIII, Graeci, vt demonstratum est, legitime, & valide Presbyteros consecrant; semper Ecclesia Romana eorum Ordinationes probavit.
44. Ibid. Postrema opinio, ea est quae materiam Sacerdotij constituit solam manuum impositionem. Hanc solam omnis Ecclesia, Latina, Graeca, Barbara semper agnouit.
45. Ibid. 132, 135.
46. Ibid. 135.
47. Ibid. 136. See also 148 about the form of ordination "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum."
48. Ibid. 146.
49. Martene, Lib. I pars II, 318 Unus est liber Pontificalis ecclesia: Rotomagensis annorum 200, qui antiquum ritum unctionis ex crismate retinuit, cui addere possumus Constantinopolitanum annorum 500.
50. Ibid. Miramur ergo quod ait Nicolaus papa I. epistula ad Rudolfum Bituricensem archiepiscopum, non fuisse moris ecclesiae Romanae, presbyteris ac diaconis (cum ordinantur manus chrismatis liquore perungi;) cum ea fuerit communis aliarum ecclesiarum consuetudo. (Hanc morem tenent episcopi nostri, manus presbyterorum unguunt de oleo,) inquit Amalarius lib. 2. de Divinis Officiis cap. 13.
51. Ibid. Favet tamen Nicolao Ordo Gelasianus, qui praedictam unctionem praetermittit in ordinatione presbyterorum, uti & codex Corbeiensis Rodradi. Reperitur tamen in S. Gregorii Sacramentario.
52. Ibid. Idem observatum fuisse etiam in quibusdam Galliarum ecclesiis docent nos Pontificale Caturcense & Corbiense Ratoldi Sacramentarium, in quibus hic ritus expressis describitur verbis.
Lee 1869 takes Martene as a support for the opinion that the anointing "can not in any degree warrant its being regarded as an essential part of the valid ordination of a priest", but is very cautious about the time for its origin and writes only that "unction was generally practised in the west before the twelfth century" 79.

4.2. Debate.

1. Burnet A Vindication.

2. Priedeaux The Validity.
3. Comber A discourse upon the form and manner, London 1699.
Ch. VIII § 3, 367-8.
A Discourse upon the Office for making Priests ... we may observe, Morinus could not find this Form in any Ritual above 700 years old; So likewise the blessing, the several vestments and forms of delivering them, the anointing the Priests hands in the Latin Church. The kiss given ... are justly laid aside by our Reformers, as being either innovations, or too trifling for so grave an Office as this.
4. Talbot Treatise of the Nature of Catholick Faith and Heresie, ed. in 1657. From Messenger 2, 441-2
In all forms of ordaining priests that ever were used in the Eastern or Western Church, is expressly set down the word Priest, or some other words expressing the proper function and authority of priesthood ... The Grecians, using the word Priest or Bishop in their forms, do sufficiently express the respective power of every order; but our Reformers did not put into the form of ordaining Priests any words expressing authority to make Christ's Body present.
5. Bellarmin Tractatus. See also Messenger 2, 682-3.
6. Courayer Dissertation 2, 78 pp.
Courayer 1844, 250 pp.
Morin 1655, 104.
7. Hardouin La Dissertation and La defence. Le Quien Nullité.
8. Is mentioned and treated by Courayer in A Defence 2, 58.
Father Le Quien agrees, that the Laying on of Hands is the only essential Matter of Ordination. Father Hardouin believes the Delivery of the Instruments to be as essential as the Laying on of Hands; but at the same time maintains this Delivery of the Instruments to have been prescribed only for the West by the Institution of Christ himself, who appointed something else for the East.
60. The delivering and receiving the Instruments, as well as Unction, is neither so universal, constant, nor uniform as the Laying on of Hands. This Father Hardouin and the Benedictin own, though they would nevertheless make these Things essential to Ordination.
9. To give some prominent examples can be mentioned Boudinhon De la validité and Etude; Gasparri De la Valeur and Tractatus.
10. Saravia 1590 Treatise on the Different Degrees of the Christian Priesthood 37. Tavard 33.
11. Saravia 1591 Of the Honor which is due unto the priests and prelates of the Church. Chapt. X.
Again, that the rites, ceremonies, & outward pomp of the Priesthood, as well in the ornament of the body, as the ordinance of tithes (as they were then challenged) are together deceased by the same means.
12. Mason 1613, Of the Consecration of the Bishops in the Church of England Lob. 1. Chapt 2.
... such are the rites of holy Church, wherein you are notoriously defective. To passe over with silence your contempt of the sacred ce-

remonies, of crossing and anointing, which are but accidentall, you want the very essentiall and substantiall parts of Priesthood. For your Church giveth no authoritie to offer the soueraigne sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ; and though you have a kind of absolution, yet to small purpose.

-The Roman accuser PHIL. here speaks against the anglican Orders to their defendor ORTHOD.

13. Hume 1710, The Sacred Succession 240.

14. Ibid. 229.

15. Hickes 1711, Two Trestises Sect. VI, 122..

16. Carter 1857, The Doctrine 96.

17. Ibid. 97 p.

18. Apostolicae Curae § 14.

36. Therefore adhering entirely to the decrees of the Pontiffs Our Predecessors on this subject, and fully ratifying and renewing them by Our authority, on Our own initiative and with certain knowledge, We pronounce and declare that ordinations performed according to the Anglican rite have been and are completely null and void.

19. Ibid. § 24.

20. Ibid. § 25.

21. Ibid. § 30.

22. Ibid. § 27.

23. Ibid. § 40.

the present Letter and the whole of its contents cannot at any time be attacked or impugned on the ground of subreption, obreption, or defect in Our intention, or any defect whatsoever; but that it shall be now and for ever in the future valid and in force, and that it is to be inviolably observed both judically and extrajudicially by all persons of whatsoever degree or preeminence; and We declare null and void any attempt to the contrary.

24. Moberly 1897, Ministerial Priesthood 243.

25. Ibid. 242.

Beckwith 1964, 18 pp.

26. Jeaffreson 1897 A letter on the Papal Bull 18.

Take an instance from the Ordination Service itself - the omission of unctions. This ceremony was introduced before the ninth century, and symbolised the unction of the Holy Ghost, who will maintain that the omission of unction was a repudiation of the unction of the Holy Ghost which the ceremony represented? No Ordinal in all the world asserts more fully than ours that a man is raised to the Ministry by the Gift of the Holy Spirit.

27. Saeplus Officio, ed London 1977, iv.

28. Ibid. 13 p.
29. Ibid. 29.
30. Ibid. 5.
31. Lacey A Roman Diary 65, 125 p.
32. Smith 1895, Reasons for rejecting 71. See also 16.
33. English Church Union Report 11 p.
34. Cronin 1930, The Christian Priesthood 15.
35. Newman Month, September 1868.
See Hughes Absolutely Null 276.
36. Askmark 361.
37. Ibid. 362.
38. Ibid. 370.
39. Holmström 33.
40. Ibid. 46.
41. Ibid. 144.
42. Nicholson 19.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid. 31.
45. Ibid. 40, 49 pp.
46. Van Haag 107 - In der Salbung sah Johann III. mit manchen Zeitgenossen das charakteristische und wesentliche Moment der katholischen oder allgemeinkirchlichen Bischofsweihe. - Questions in connection with anointing are also dealt with on page 22, 73, 99 pp.
47. Ibid. 167.
Die materielle Sukzession, das heisst die ununterbrochene Reihenfolge der Handauflegungen, ist unbestreitbar.
- Eine theologische Beurteilung dieser Ordinationen wird sich aber die Folge vorlegen müssen, ob hier wirklich der Tatbestand einer katholischen Weihe vorliegt.

4.3. Decision.

1. MD article 2.
- 2 Ibid. 17.
3. Ibid. 44.

4. Ibid. 97, 98.
5. AAS 40 (1948) 5-7, Sacramentum Ordinis articles 3, 4; Ott 180.
6. AAS 40, 7 art, 5.
In Ordinatione Prebyterali materia est;Episcopi prima manuum impositio quae silentio fit, non autem eiusdem impositionis per manus dexterae extensionem continuatio, nec ultima cui coniungantur verba: "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remiseras peccata, etc.". Forma autem constat verbis "Praefationis" quorum haec sunt essentialia ideoque ad valorem requisita: "Da, quaesumus, omnipotens Pater, in hunc famulum tuum Presbyterii dignitatem; innova in visceribus eius spiritum sanctitatis, ut acceptum a Te, Deus, secundi meriti munus obtineat censuramque morum exemplo suae conversationis insinuet".
Ott 181.
7. AAS 40, 7, art. 5.
Denique in Ordinatione seu Consecratione Episcopali materia est manuum impositio quae ab Episcopo consecratore fit.Forma autem constat verbis "Praefationis", quorum haec sunt essentialia ideoque ad valorem requisita: "Comple in Sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum coelestis unguenti rore sanctifica ". Omnia autem haec fiant sicut per Apostolicam Nostram Constitutionem "Episcopalis Consecrationis" diei trigesimi novembris anni MCMXLIV statutum est.
Ott 179.
8. AAS 40, 7, art. 6.
6. Ne vero dubitandi praebeatur occasio, praecipimus ut impositio manuum in quolibet Ordine conferendo caput Ordinandi physice tangendo fiat, quamvis etiam tactus moralis ad Sacramentum valide faciendum sufficiat.
Ott 182. Es wird aber hinzugefügt, dass zum gültigen Vollzug des Sakramentes auch eine moralische Berührung, d. h. die Handausstreckung, genügt.
9. AAS 40,7 ... vim retroactivam non habent.
Ott 182.
10. Rossum 222; Lehmann 24.
In hac sola manus impositione et oratione signum sacramentale ordinis a Christo institutum et apostolica auctoritate Traditum certissime invenire: reliqua vero omnia Ecclesiae auctoritate ad solam maiorem solemnitatem esse introducta.
11. Lennerz 130.
Thesis: Sola impositio manuum cum invocatione spiritus sancti est ritus essentialis ordinationis sacramentalis.
Cf Lehmann 24, n15.
12. Lennerz 133.
Ex tempore scholasticorum maxime diversae sententiae inveniuntur de ritu essentiali ordinationis.
Ibid. 131 p about the anointings.
13. See for example the Decree the 20th of Febr. 1950, AAS 42 (1950) 450.

14. SC article 76.
15. CD art. 2.
16. Ibid. 4.
17. PO art. 2.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid. 3.
21. Ibid. 6.
Very little good will be achieved by ceremonies however beautiful, or societies however flourishing, if they are not directed towards educating people to reach Christian maturity.
22. Lehmann 25.
23. Kleinheyer 1964, 204 Die ausdeutenden Riten.
24. Ibid. 205.
Daraus ergibt sich für eine Reform, dass die zweite Handauflegung samt der Begleitformel wegfallen muss.
25. Ibid. 207.
Für die Händesalbung wäre überdies zu wünschen, dass man wieder zum Chrisam zurückkehre ~ Katechumenöl ist Tauföl; darüberhinaus, dass die Salbung wieder in der alten Form durch Zeichnung je eines Kreuzes in die Handflächen erfolge. Vielleicht liesse sich erreichen, dass das Binden der Hände bzw. der gesalbten Finger wegfiel und damit die Möglichkeit gegeben wäre, Patene und Kelch den Neugeweihten wirklich in die Hand zu geben. Das *Veni Creator Spiritus* sollte als Begleitgesang zur Händesalbung wohl nicht beibehalten werden; ob es unter den vorbereitenden Riten, etwa vor der Handauflegung – oder auch in Verbindung mit der Handauflegung – einen Platz finden könnte, wäre erwägenswert. Die klarere Form wäre allerdings: nach dem Vorbereitenden Gebet Handauflegung unter stillem Gebet, das ganz bezogen ist auf das Konsekrationsgebet.
26. See for example the articles of Botte in *Lex Orandi* 22 – *Études sur le sacrement de l'ordre*, and A. Bugnini, *La riforma liturgica* 687-702.
27. *Pontificalis Romani*, AAS 60 (1968) 369
... textus et ritus ita ordinari oportet ut sancta, quae significant, clarius expriment, eaque populus christianus, in quantum fieri potest, facile percipere atque plena, actiosa et communitatis propria celebratione participare possit.
Cf SC, AAS 56 (1964) 106.
28. Ibid. 370.
... ad imaginem Christi, summi atque aeterni Sacerdotis (cf Hebr. 5, 1-10, 7-24; 9, 1-28), ad Evangelium praedicandum, fidelesque pascendos, et ad divinum cultum celebrandum consecrantur, ut veri sacerdotes Novi Testamenti.

29. Ibid. 371 p.

Cum vero in recognitione ritus opus fuerit quaedam vel addi, vel deleri, vel mutari, sive ut textus ad fidem textuum antiquiorum restituerentur, sive ut sententiae clariores redderentur, sive ut effectus sacramenti melius exponerentur, necesse esse putamus, ad omnem controversiam tollendam et ad conscientiarum anxietatis praecavendas, declarare quatenus in ritu recognito ad naturam rei pertinere dicenda sint.

30. De Ordinatione Presbyterorum, EL vol. LXXXIII, 1969, 24.

Praenotanda 4 ... d) gremiale linteum; e) sanctum chrisma; f) ea quae ad manuum lotionem necessaria sunt.

31. Ibid. 31 p.

24. Postea Episcopus assumit gremiale linteum et inungit sancto chrismate palmas manuum uniuscuiusque Ordinati ante se genuflexi, dicens: Dominus Iesus Christus, quem Pater unxit Spiritu Sancto et virtute, te custodiat ad populum christianum sanctificandum et ad sacrificium Deo offerendum.

Translation from: The Ordination of Priests, London 1976, 18.

32. Ibid. 32.

25. Dum Ordinati induuntur stola et planeta, et dum Episcopus illis manus inungit, canitur hymnus Veni, Creator Spiritus, vel Ant. Sacerdos in aeternum Christus etc.

33. Ibid. 33.

26. ... Accipe oblationem plebis sanctae Deo offerendam. Agnosce quod ages, imitare quod tractabis, et vitam tuam mysterio dominicae crucis conforma.

34. Ibid. 52 p.

28. Consecrator principalis sumit gremiale linteum et sancto chrismate inungit caput Ordinati coram se genuflexi, dicens:

Deus, qui summi Christi sacerdotii participem te effecit, ipse te mysticae delibutionis liquore perfundat, et spiritualis benedictionis ubertate fecundet.

Deinde consecrator principalis lavat manus.

-The words from "delibutionis" to "Fecundet" are directly from the PRG-prayer Deus et Pater, used at the completion of the anointing of the hand to anoint the thumb. Cf 53, n28.

35. Kleinheyer 1964, 202.

... offenkundig, dass manche Elemente des Priesterweiheritus entschieden fragwürdiger sind als etwa Rituselemente der Messe.

36. Kleinheyer 1968, 217.

Denn diese so vielfältigen Riten waren ja gerade nicht als ausdeutende in die Weiheliturgie eingeführt worden; durch den jeweils neu eingeführten Ritus sollte eben das ausgedrückt werden, was - nach der Meinung der Zeit - das Geschehen im Sakrament nun auch wirklich sinnfällig machte. ... Wer aber Liturgie nicht nur mit den Augen des Dogmatikers sieht, musste wünschen, dass ausdeutende Riten erhalten bleiben; freilich mussten sie umgestaltet werden im Blick auf die in Sacramentum ordinis erreichte Klärung.

37. Ibid, 219.
Die alte Deutformel konnte nicht beibehalten werden. ... statt dessen heisst es - mit einer Anspielung auf Apg 10,13:...
 38. Ibid, 220.
Unhaltbar war auch die Formel zur Überreichung... Dadurch, dass die Überreichung der Gewänder in ihrem Gewicht gemindert und die Händesalbung vereinfacht wurde, hat die Überreichung der Opfergaben im Kreis der ausdeutenden Riten an Bedeutung gewonnen.
 39. Ibid, 221.
Die reichlich farblose Formel zur Hauptsalbung ... wurde ersetzt ... Die Händesalbung, ursprünglich nur dann Element der Bischofsweihe, wenn ein Diakon, der also in der Priesterweihe die Händesalbung noch nicht empfangen hatte, zum Bischof geweiht wurde, wurde aus dem Ritus herausgenommen.
 40. Jounel, 68.
Quelle option allait prendre le Consilium dans la révision de ce rituel? On devait simplifier. Aussi a-t-il semblé indispensable de conserver l'onction de la tête de l'évêque et des mains du prêtre, ainsi que la remise des objets cultuels et la vesture; mais on a veillé à introduire une réelle sobriété dans ces rites secondaire, en donnant le maximum d'ampleur aux actions essentielles.
 41. Kleinheyer 1969, 104 pp.
... est le signe de l'onction par le saint-Esprit, qui a lieu à lieu lors de la collation de l'ordre par l'imposition des mains et la prière.
 42. Botte 1969, 113 p.
Le plus spectaculaire est l'onction de la tête. La prière d'ordination faisait allusion au sacre d'Aaron qui comportait deux rites: l'onction et la vesture. L'évêque, grand prêtre de la Nouvelle Alliance, recevait une onction spirituelle, un don de l'Esprit Saint, et il était revêtu des vertus qu'il donne. Ce n'était qu'un symbolisme; mais l'image a ramené le geste matériel.
Ibid. 123.
Le texte souligne que l'ordination est déjà faite et que l'onction est seulement le symbole des grâces conférées par l'imposition des mains.
 43. Lengeling 153.
Die zentrale Bedeutung der Handauflegung und der Weihegebete blieb immer auch dadurch unterstrichen - auch dann, als neue, zum Teil irreführende Elemente (traditio instrumentorum; Salbungen; weitere Handauflegungen mit imperativen Formeln) hinzugetreten waren -.
 44. Ibid 155, 158.
5. CONCLUSIONS.
1. Ellard 104.

ABBREVIATIONS, EDITIONS AND LITERATURE

AAS	Acta Apostolicae Sedis.
Aarts	Aarts, J. Die Lehre M.Luthers über das Amt in der Kirche, Helsinki 1972.
Ahlberg	Ahlberg, B. Laurentius Petris nattvardsuppfattning, Lund 1964.
Ahnfelt	Ahnfelt, O. Articuli ordinantiae, art.in Tidskrift för teologi 2, 1892.
Albertus Magnus	Compendium theologiae, Parisiis 1564.
ACC	Alcium Club Collections.
ALW	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, German periodical.
Anacletus	Epistola Anacleti secunda, ed. Hinschius, Leipzig 1863.
Andersen	Andersen, Fr.V. Embede og Ordination, Kjøbenhavn 1880.
Andrén Konf.	Andrén, C-G. Konfirmationen i Sverige, Lund 1957.
Andrieu I,II,III	Andrieu, M. Le Pontifical Romain au moyen-âge, ST 86, 87, 88, index-99, Vatican City 1938, 1940, 1940, 1941.
Andrieu 1930	Ibd. L'onction des mains dans le sacre épiscopal,art. in RHE 26, Lovain 1930.
Apost.Constit.	Apostolical Constitutions, The Ante-Nicene Fathers VII, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1979.
Apostolicae Curae	Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII, Rome Sept.30 1896, English Translation, London 1967.
Askmark	Askmark, R. Ämbetet i den svenska kyrkan, Lund 1949.
Augustine	S.Augustini, De Baptismo contra Donatistas, PL 43.
Baazius	Baazius, J.S:r Inventarium ecclesiae sveogothorum, Lincopiae 1642.
Barnes 1897	Barnes, A.S. No sacrifice no priest, London 1897.

- Barnes 1898 Ibid. The popes and the Ordinal, London 1898.
- Beckwith 1964 Beckwith, R.T, Priesthood and Sacraments, London 1964.
- Becon Becon, Th. Prayers etc of Thomas Becon, PS 17, Cambridge 1844.
- Bergendoff Bergendoff, C. Olavus Petri and the ecclesiastical transformation in Sweden, Phil.1965.
- Birkner Birkner, J. Die Akten des trienter Konzils für die zweite Tagungsperiode under Papst Julius III, art. in QFiAB 27, Rome 1938-39.
- Bligh Bligh, J. Ordination to the Priesthood, London 1956.
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Ibd. De la validité des ordinations anglicanes, Paris 1895.
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- Botte 1968 Ibid. La nouveau rituel d'ordination, art.in QLP 4, 273 pp, Louvain 1968.
- Botte 1969 Ibid. L'Ordination de l'éveque, art.in M-D 98,113 pp, Paris 1969.
- Bradshaw Bradshaw, P.F. The anglican Ordinal, ACC 53, London 1971.
- Brilioth Brilioth, Y. Kyrkomötet i Örebro 1529, art.in Tidskrift för kyrkomusik och svenskt gudstjänstliv 4, 1929.
- Brezzi Brezzi, P. Il Concilio Tridentino, Milano 1965.
- Brunotte Brunotte, W. Das geistliche Amt bei Luther, Göttingen 1959.
- Bucer Bucer, M. Scripta Anglicana, Basel 1577. (De ordinatio-ne legetima ministrorum ecclesiae revocanda, 1549.)
- Bucer 5 Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften, ed.R. Stupperich, Gütersloh, Band 5, Bericht auss der heyligen geschrift.
- Bucer 7 Ibid. Band 7, Von der waren Seelsorge.
- Bugnini Bugnini, A. La riforma liturgica, Rome 1983.
- Burnet 1,2 Burnet, G. A History of the Reformation of the Church of England, vol.1-2, London 1841.
- Burnet Burnet, G. A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, London 1677.

Cabrol	Cabrol, F. Recension Ellard, art.in RHE 29, 1000 pp, Louvain 1933.
Calfhill	Calfhill, J. An Answer by J.Calfhill, PS 25, Cambridge 1846.
Carter 1857	Carter, T.H. The Doctrine of the Priesthood in the Church of England, London 1857.
Casel 1930	Casel, O. Besprechung Andrieu, art.in JLW 10, 230, Münster 1930.
Cassander	Cassander,G. Opera omnia, Paris 1616.
CD	Cristus Dominus, decree, Rome Oct.28 1965.
Chemnitz	Chemnitz, M. Examen Concilii Tridentini, Berolini 1861.
Chrysostom	St.Chrysostom, Homily II on the Letter to Timothy, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers XIII, Ann Arbor 1979. Ibd. Homilies on Philippians, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers XIII, Ann Arbor 1979.
Cirlot	Cirlot, F. Apostolic Succession and Anglicanism, Lexington 1946.
Clark 1956	Clark, F. Anglican orders and defect of Intention, London 1956.
Clark 1960	Ibd. Eucharistic sacrifice and the reformation, London 1960.
Clark 1962	Ibd. The Catholic Church and Anglican Orders, London 1962.
Claudius	The Claudius Pontificals, ed.D.H.Turner, HBS 97, London 1971.
Clement	Epistola Clementis Tertia, ed Hinschius, Leipzig 1863.
Cobb	Cobb, C.S. The Rationale of Ceremonial 1540-43, London 1910.
Comber	Comber, Th. A discourse upon the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons According to the Order of the Church of England, London 1699.
Concilium Tridentinum II	Concilii Tridentini Diariorum, pars secunda, Friburgi B. 1911.
Ibd.III	Ibd. pars tertia, vol.prius, Friburgi B.1931.
Ibd.VI	Concilii Tridentini Actorum, tom.VI, Friburgi B.1972.
Ibd.VII/1	Ibd., tom.VII, partis quartae, vol.prius, Friburgi B.

	1961.
Ibd.VIII/2	Ibd. vol. secundum, Friburgi B.1976.
Ibd.IX	Ibd., tom.IX, pars sexta, Friburgi B.1924.
Ibd.XIII	Concilii Tridentini Tractatum,tom.XIII,Friburgi B.1938.
Courayer 1723	le Courayer, P.F. Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois, et sur la succession des Eveques de l'Eglise Anglicane, vol.1-2, Brussel 1723.
Courayer 1728	Ibd. A Defence of the Dissertation, vol.1-2, London 1728.
Cox	Cox, J.E. Works of Thomas Cranmer, vol.1-2, Cambridge 1844-46.
CR 4	Corpus Reformatorum, ed.C.G.Bretscheider, 1834-, vol.4, Melanchton, Ph. Liber Ratisbonensis.
CR 6	Ibd., vol.6, Iudicium IV. de libro Interim.
CR 7	Ibd., vol.7, Ep.25.Febr. Academiae Pommeranicae.
CR 15	Ibd., vol 15, Si quis Episcopi munus desiderat, honestum opus desiderat.
Cranmer	Cranmer, Th. Misc.Writings and Letters of Th.Cranmer, PS 24, Cambridge 1846.
Cronin	Cronin, C. The Sacrament of Order, The Teaching of the Catholic Church, 2 ed. London 1960.
Cuming	Cuming, G.J. A History of Anglican Liturgy,London 1969.
Cyprian	Cyprianus, Epist.LXIX (Oxford ed.lxx):2. Ibd. Epist.LXVII (Oxford ed.lxvii):4. Ibd. De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi, PL 189.
Cyril	St.Cyril of Jerusalem, Myst.Cath., The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers VII, Ann Arbor 1978.
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris 1907-53.
Denny	Denny, E. Anglican Orders and Jurisdiction,London 1893.
Denny/Lacey	Denny, E. and Lacey, T.A. De Hierarchia Anglicana Dissertatio Apologetica, Cambridge 1895.
De Septem	Andrén, C-G. De Septem Sacramentis, Lund 1963.
Dimock	Dimock, N. Some notes on the vindication of the Bull "Apostolicae Curae", London 1898.

Dionysius	Dionysius Areopagita, Dionysiaca, ed.P.Chevallier, Bruges 1937.
Dix	Dix, G. The Question of Anglican Orders, London 1944.
Drews	Drews, P. Vorwort zum Ordinationsformular in der Weimarer Auflage Bd 38, 401 pp, Weimar 1912.
Duval	Duval, A. L'ordre au Concile de Trente, art. in LO 22, Paris 1957.
Echlin	Echlin, E.P. The story of Anglican Ministry, London 1974.
Egbert	The Pontifical of Egbert, Archb. of York, SS XXVII, London 1853.
Ehses	Ehses, S. Geheimhaltung der Akten des Konzils von Trient?, art. in RQ 16, Rome 1902.
Eichmann	Eichmann, E.D. Königs-und Bischofsweihe, München 1928.
Eichmann I,II	Ibd. Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland, vol.1-2, Würzburg 1942.
EL	Ephemerides Liturgicae, Roman periodical.
Ellard	Ellard, G. Ordination anointings in the Western Church before AD 1000, Cambridge Mass. 1933.
English Church Union	Report of the Comittee on Prayer Book Revision, London 1922.
Erdmann	Erdmann, C. Die Wiederöffnung des Trient.Konz. durch Julius III, art. in QFiAB 20, Rome 1928.
Estcourt	Estcourt, E.E. The Question of Anglican Ordinations Discussed, London 1873.
Every	Every, G. The High-Church Party 1688-1718, London 1956.
Fagerberg	Fagerberg, H. Bekenntnis, Kirche und Amt in der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19.Jahrhunderts, 1952.
Fahrnberger 1970	Fahrnberger, G. Bischofsamt und Priestertum in den Diskussionen des Konzils von Trient. Wien 1970.
Fahrnberger 1973	Ibd. Amt und Eucharistie auf den Konzil von Trient,art. in Amt und Eucharistie, 174 pp, ed.P.Bläser, Paderborn 1973.
Fahrnberger 1978	Ibd. Amtspriestertum und Messopfer auf dem Konzil von Trient, art.in Investigationes Theologico-Canonicae, 143 pp, Rome 1978.
Fahrnberger 1980	Ibd. Nichtigerklärung der Weihe und Aufhebung der Wehepflichten, art.in Grundriss des nachkonziliaren Kir-

- chenrechts, 534 pp, ed.Listl-Müller-Schmitz, Regensburg 1980.
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- Färnström Färnström, E. Om källorna till 1571 års kyrkoordning, Stockholm 1935.
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- Gerhard Gerhard, J. Locorum Theologic., Tvbingae 1774.
- Gierow Gierow, K. Biskopsvigningarna år 1575, art.in KÅ 1964.
- Gildas Gildas, De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae, Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant. XIII.
- GR Gustaf den förstes registratur.
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